



A
L E T T E R

To the REVEREND

Mr. THOMAS CARTE,

AUTHOR of the

Full ANSWER to the LETTER from a
BYSTANDER.



[Price 1s. 6d.]

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And, at the End is Exhibited

The PICTURE of a NEW REVOLUTION.

By a GENTLEMAN of Cambridge.

Hic NIGER est ; Hunc Tu Romane, caveto. HORAT.
Je Maintiendrai.

THE SECOND EDITION.

L O N D O N :

Printed for W. BICKERTON, at the Gazette in the Temple-
Exchange, near the Inner-Temple-Gate, Fleetstreet.

MDCCXLIV.

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Mr. Nicks of, New Pa. Room, London. 1804.

London.

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Printed for W. Baskett, in Pall Mall, in the Strand.
A new and the first London Edition.

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REVEREND SIR,



MUST confess to you, that I received a particular Pleasure in reading the *Letter from a By-stander* : The Spirit which every-where appears in that Piece, and the Perspicuity in stating the Accounts in it, gave me a Delight, and carried with them a Conviction, which I have seldom met with in such Occasional Writings; And though the Inquiry in that Treatise into the Weight of the *Regal* and *Popular* Power was extremely interesting, yet my Esteem for it was greatly advanced, by seeing it conducted without any mean Adulation to the *Throne*, or general Complaints of the Licentiousness of the *People*.

Under these Sentiments concerning this Work, I expected the Remarks which either the Poverty of some, or the different Apprehensions of other Writers, might produce against it; And the first Piece that attack'd it with any formidable Appearance, was the *Proper Reply to the Letter from a By-stander*; which was almost intirely fill'd with the Common-Place Arguments in praise of our Militia, and representing the Danger and Uselesness of standing Armies: All which had been often before served up to the Public, and carried little Opposition to what was particularly advanced by the *By-stander* : However, as the Author of the *Pro-*

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per Reply might have some necessary Purposes of his own to answer upon that Occasion, it is probable he succeeded in the chief part of his Aim; His Work being, as I take it, only a *provisional Treatise*.

After this the *By-stander* continued for some time unmolested; when at length, Sir, there appeared in the Advertisements, a Performance intitled; *A full Answer to the Letter from a By-stander, wherein his false Calculations and Misrepresentations of Facts in the time of King Charles II. are refuted, &c. by R—— H—— Esq;* A Piece so powerful in its Title immediately excited my Curiosity, and I determined to examine it with Attention and Candour: Any Fondness which I had conceived for the *By-stander* being ready to be abated, or entirely dismiss'd, upon a Conviction of his Errors; And a real Esteem for *you* to be substituted in its place, upon a fair Discovery of any Merit or Sincerity in your Performance.

In this Disposition I examined your Work; and after reading it, was surprized that at this Day any Writer could possibly entertain so mean an Opinion of the Public. However, I waited to observe the Sentiments of others; and perceived that your positive Assertions, and your pretended Quotations of the Rolls and Journals of Parliament, had left some Impression of the Validity of your Facts with several Persons: For it was inconceivable to them, that you could advance forward with so much Confidence, and at the same time be destitute of all manner of Foundation.

Upon *this sort* of Credit I perceived you subsisted, and that your Book, at the same time, was diligently recommended by a few *Nonjurors*; who declared with consummate Satisfaction, that the Author of it was the famous Mr. *Carte*, that you was the greatest *Historian* of this Age, and had published

lish'd your Proposals for compiling a Body of the *English History*; And that your *full Answer to the By-stander*, was a Specimen, which you had given the World, of what *masterly things* you were able to perform.

These pompous Declarations in your favour, however convincing they might appear to those who delivered them, were not long permitted to pass unexamined: Some Gentlemen of Discernment easily pointed out many Errors and Contradictions in your celebrated Work. Upon which you was so rash as to appear your self publicly in the support of it, at an eminent Coffee-house; you there declared that you was Mr. *Carte*, the Author of the *full Answer to the By-stander*, and that you came then on purpose to vindicate it from any Objections.—And you know, Sir, what follow'd—You was severely chastis'd with a *Birchen Rod*, and abandon'd the Place with Shame and Confusion.

This Misfortune upon you has prov'd that you are *vulnerable*; and your late warmest Advocates begin to disown you.—However, though your Credit is thus generally shock'd, yet as I have had some particular Opportunities of inspecting the public Accounts, and have examined your Performance, perhaps more distinctly than most Readers, I am determin'd to pursue you throughout the whole; and to expose to the World the following Objections, out of many others, not only to your Knowledge as an *Historian*, but, Sir, to your Veracity, as an *honest Man*.

But first, Sir, I must frankly declare, that though your *Answer* is full of the most harsh and contemptuous Language to the Author of the *By-stander*; as Page the 58th you cry out upon "*his unparallel'd Assurance and Prevaricating.*" Page the 28th, "*His creative Talent, which would in the time of*

“ *King Henry VII. have enabled him to supplant
 “ Empson and Dudley in that Prince’s Favour.”*
 Page the 26th, “ *His Ignorance without its decent
 “ Companion Modesty.*” And much more of the
 same Treatment through every part of your Work;
 Yet, Sir, I shall urge no Complaints upon this
 head against you.—If he has been guilty of *un-
 parallel’d Assurance* and *Prevaricating*, I see no rea-
 son, after you have detected him, which obliges
 you to suppress his Infamy ;—On the contrary, I
 wish such frequent Examples were made of im-
 pertinent Scribblers, as might deter them from
 pestering the World with their Nonsense.—We
 are both perfectly agreed in this Point ; And I de-
 spise, Sir, as much as you, the trifling Complaints
 of any *Creature*, who, after publishing himself a
 Fool to the World, and mispending the time of
 a great number of Persons, is surprized that any
 Gentleman should step forth, and give him a pro-
 per Correction.

The only Protectors and Comforters of such Wit-
 lings are a sort of delicate fair-weather Gentry, who
 having little Sense or Spirit of their own, affect to
 be shock’d at it in others. An Author of this sort,
 attended by such Advocates and *Condolers*, seems
 to me like an effeminate School-boy, who having
 vapour’d about and defy’d any Antagonist, is at
 last attack’d by some manly Play-fellow ; and upon
 feeling harder Blows than he expected, runs cry-
 ing to the *Women* and *Nurses*, who comfort him,
 by abusing the other, as a very rude Boy and un-
 fair Fighter, *for striking in the Eyes and Face.*

All trifling Complaints of this sort apart, like
 manlier Adversaries *WE* meet together ; You have
 chosen your Weapons, and I allow them to be
 fair ; And having thus settled the Preliminaries
 with you, according to your own Fancy, I now
 chearfully begin upon your Treatise.

You

You set out, Sir, with declaring that *Impostors are known by their Fruits*; I entirely agree with you; and your own skill as an *Historian* shall be immediately try'd by the same Test: Nor is it necessary to dive far into your Piece for this purpose; For you have presented the Public in your second Page with a most full Sample of your Knowledge in the following Words; "*That no Nation hath ever been enslaved by any other Means than the Force of a standing Army, is a Truth so evident from the Experience of all Ages, and the Testimony of all Historians, that a free People learning from others Ruin, what naturally prove their own, ought ever to guard against it,*" &c.

There is scarce a *Cobler* in *London*, Sir, but could have readily inform'd you, that the *Libertys* of this, or of any other Nation, may be otherwise lost, than by a *standing Army*.—Have you never heard, Sir, of such a Country as *Denmark*, which from a limited and elective Monarchy was changed into one hereditary and absolute, in a day's time, through the Resentment of the Commonalty against the Nobility, without the Interposition of any *Army*?—In all your extensive Enquirys, Sir, have you never met with a Kingdom call'd *Sweden*, which in the Year 1683, under *Charles the Eleventh*, entirely lost her *Libertys*, by the Propagation of the Doctrines of Passive Obedience and Non-Resistance, and not by any Violence or Dread of a *military Force*?—Have you never been told, that the House of *Medici* overthrew the *Libertys* of *Florence* by fomenting Divisions amongst the several Orders of that State, without any *standing Army*?—It will be amazing to the World how any Person, the least conversant in Letters, much less so renowned an *Historian* as You, can be thus entirely ignorant
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in a Matter which is exemplify'd in the Annals of many Countrys, and has been particularly inculcated in almost all our political Writings of late Yeats.—And I much wish, that your intense Examination and Study of the *wise Conversations* of *James* the 1st. which you have acquainted us with in your 47th Page, has not left you a Stranger to all other Knowledge.

You must therefore, Sir, permit me to set you right in this Business; and be pleased to be inform'd, that the Slavery of Mankind has been so far from being *always* effected by a *standing Army*, that it has been very frequently introduced by *Priests* of your *Principles*, who maintain the *indefeasible Right* of Tyrants, and their Exemption from forfeiting their Crowns by any Wickedness.—It is well known that the Slavery of *France* and *Spain* is more riveted at present by the Influence of the *Clergy*, than by all the Force of the *Soldiery*: And therefore, Sir, though I am far from defending any Outrages of the *last*, I must desire you to charge great part of the Mischief to the *black Locusts* of your own Stamp, and not to saddle the whole upon the poor *Redcoats*.

You are speaking, Page the 6th, of the Situation of *Europe* just before the Revolution, and express your self thus, “*The Allies knew that the Accession of England was necessary to reduce the Power of France; and since King James could not be brought in to join them, they wish'd to have a King on the British Throne who WAS the Soul of the Alliance: For these Reasons,*” say you, “*they readily came into the Measures of the English, alarmed at the wild Stops, into which Bigotry and the Counsels of a treacherous Minister had led that Prince: For no thinking Man can believe the Allies had any View for preserving the Church of England, when one Article of the grand Alliance*

“ *was to restore the Pope to his Rights, and to crush
the Liberties of the Gallican Church, where every
thing seemed ripe for a Reformation.*”

You discover your self in this Passage to be so great an Historian, as to fix the GRAND ALLIANCE before the Prince of Orange's Attempt upon England; for you expressly declare, That the Allies favour'd that Attempt, because *they wish'd to have a King on the British Throne who was the Soul of the Alliance*, not one who *was expected to be the Soul of an Alliance which might be afterwards form'd.*

If you attempt to explain your self away by talking of Alliances before the Revolution, you are to know, Sir, that the most remarkable of these was the Treaty of *Nimeghuen*, wherein *France* was a principal Party, and therefore cannot be one of the Allies which you here intended.—Besides Custom has sufficiently establish'd it amongst us, that by the ALLIES are understood those under that remarkable Confederacy against *France*, which was enter'd into by the *Emperor, Great Britain, Spain, the States General*, and other Powers, after the Revolution, and call'd the Treaty of the GRAND ALLIANCE.

BUT to obviate all Doubt of your Error, you mention the GRAND ALLIANCE your self in the foregoing Words, and are collecting from thence the Motive of the *Allies* to favour the Revolution; which, say you, no thinking Man can believe, from one Article, of that ALLIANCE *was out of any view for preserving the Church of England.*—So that you are actually mentioning these Allies, to be subsisting as such under this Treaty, before the Revolution; and are descanting upon the Views, which they had, in interesting themselves in that Event.

If any Gentleman should still doubt that you can possibly be so ignorant, with all your Pretences
to

to *historical* Knowledge, as to fix the Grand Alliance, of which King *William* was the Head, before the Revolution; I beg leave to refer him to your 65th Page, where you are so totally unacquainted with the *English* History, as to assert that it was the *Rump* Parliament, which was engaged in the Treaty with King *Charles* the First, at the *Isle of Wight*; I shall give your own Words, “*In the most desperate Situation of the Affairs and*” “*Person of King Charles the First, the Rump Parliament offered him 100,000 l. a Year, for the*” “*Court of Wards at the Treaty of the Isle of Wight.*”

—Whereas it is known to every one, the least versed in our History, that the *Rump* was that Remainder of the Parliament, which was utterly averse to restoring him upon any Terms; And, which, after its Usurpation of Power, instead of haggling with the King about the Court of Wards, immediately proceeded to his Tryal, and Execution.

Another similar Specimen of your Knowledge in the *English* History, appears in your 126th Page, where you assert that King *William*’s Civil List Revenue was settled upon him by that Convention Parliament, which raised him to the Throne: Your own Words are these; “*The Convention Par-*” “*liament which raised him to the Throne was entire-*” “*ly devoted to his Interest, and thought they could*” “*not do enough for one, whom they considered as their*” “*Deliverer. It behoved them to make the Present*” “*worth the having, and that the Crown might sit*” “*easy on his Head, they easily came into the Reso-*” “*lution of settling a Civil List, free from Annuitys*” “*of above 230,000 l. to the Goldsmiths and others,*” “*that encumber’d it in King Charles’s Time, and*” “*distinct likewise from all the Public Services which*” “*concerned the Nation.*” This is absolutely false, the Convention Parliament was dissolved about
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the End of the Year 1690, and did not settle King *William's* Civil List Revenue; And their Backwardness and Distrust upon this Head, justly disgusted that generous Prince; — There was indeed a part of the Customs once granted to him for the Term of *five Years*; And in 1696, 500,000 *l.* was given to the Civil List for *one Year* out of the Malt-Tax: But it was not till the Year 1698, in the *third* Session of the *third* Parliament of King *William*, after a Peace was concluded with *France* at *Reiswick*, that the new Subsidy of Tonnage and Poundage was granted to him, and his Civil List Revenue settled.

These surprising Discoveries of yours, that King *William's* Civil List was settled by the Convention Parliament; that the *Grand Alliance* was concluded before the Revolution; and that the *Rump Parliament* was engaged in a Treaty with King *Charles* the First, at the *Isle of Wight*, I suppose you have drawn from your curious Stock of Materials for the *English* History; where undoubtedly you have numberless other Flowers of the same sort; And though you have not yet had sufficient Encouragement to present them all to the World, through the *Degeneracy* of the present Age, yet, Sir, you have been so good as to favour us with a most liberal Parcel of them in this exquisite Specimen.

But, Sir, I am not yet able to quit you from your Words, before quoted, page the 7th, tho' possibly in your Modesty, you might desire to be excused; You are pleased to assert, that though the Allies were "*alarm'd at the Bigotry of King James,*" yet that "*one Article of the Grand Alliance was to restore the Pope to his Rights, and crush the Libertys of the Gallican Church, where every thing seemed ripe for a Reformation.*" I shall here make no Remark upon the Contradiction,

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which appears between the Alarm which the Allies were under at King *James's* Bigotry, and, at the same time, as you say, their particular Regard for the Pope; for there would be no End of such Criticisms upon your Piece, which every where furnishes Matter for them; and you may safely defy any Adversary to pursue you in such a manner;

—But what I have particularly to remark, is your shocking Insincerity in this Passage; for your plain Drift in it is, to insinuate that the *Grand Alliance*, instead of being calculated for the Preservation of the Rights and Freedom of the States of *Europe*, was expressly designed to establish *Popery* in *France*, and to suppress the *Reformed* Interest there; — In the first place therefore I aver, that there was not in the *Grand Alliance* any Article for crushing the Liberties of the *Gallican* Church to the Prejudice of the *Reform'd* Interest; So that though I know what you aim at by these equivocating Words, there is not the least Foundation in all that Treaty for the wicked Impression which you intended to leave; — On the contrary, the Cruelty of the *French* King to his Protestant Subjects is mentioned with just Abhorrence in the Declaration of War against *France*, of the *States General*, dated *March* the 9th 1689; And the same wicked Persecution as it was extended to many *English* Protestants residing in *France*, is likewise made one of the Motives of King *William's* and Queen *Mary's* Declaration of War against that Kingdom, *May* the 7th 1689. — It is therefore astonishing that you should venture to publish such profligate Assertions, contrary to your own Knowledge and most serious Conviction.

You proceed next to inform the Public of the Expence of the Prince of *Orange's* Attempt upon *England*; the Account of which, as you have given
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it us in your Appendix, N^o 1. is 7,301,332 l. 1s. 8 d. which you assert to be, “ *A Particular of the Charges of the Dutch, for bringing over the Prince of Orange into England, in 1688, as it was delivered to the House of Commons of England, on March the 14th 1688, and entered on the Journal of that Day.*”

It is very extraordinary that you should be in earnest in this; Could you imagine, that the transporting from *Holland to England* of about *four thousand Horse*, and of about *eleven or twelve thousand Foot*, which was the whole Number that came over with the Prince of Orange; and their Maintenance together with the Pay of the Men of War and Transports attending them for a few Months, could cost above *seven Millions Sterling*? When in all the Wars of King *William*, the Maintenance of *six times* that Number of Men in *Flanders*, and in Queen *Anne's* Reign, the Maintenance of about *ten times* as many in *Flanders*, and *Portugal*, together with all the Expence of our Sea Service in those Wars, never arose to near that Sum.— But you was eager to point out the great Charge of the Revolution, and have exposed your own wretched Zeal by catching at such ridiculous Sums, without any Examination.

The real State of the Case is, that, what you have asserted to be Pounds Sterling were only *Dutch Florins* of about *one Shilling and ten Pence Half-penny* each; at which Rate the whole Charge of the Expedition amounted to about 686,500 l. and on the 15th of March, 1688-9, the Sum of 600,000 l. and no more was voted by the Convention Parliament in order to defray the Charges laid out by the *Dutch* in that Expedition; And by the Act of the 1. Will. and Mary, Cap. the 28. Sect. 1. Entitled, *An Act for appropriating certain Dutys for paying the States General of the United Provinces their Charges for his Majesty's Expedition into this Kingdom, and*

for other Uses; The Produce of certain Dutys is therein appropriated in the following Words; “ In
 “ the first Place, for and towards the Payment of
 “ SIX HUNDRED THOUSAND POUNDS to the States
 “ General of the United Provinces, for their Assistance
 “ to his Majesty at his coming into this Nation;
 “ for our Deliverance from Popery and Arbitrary
 “ Power, in such manner as his Majesty shall direct;
 “ which said Sum of Six hundred thousand Pounds
 “ is meant and intended in full Satisfaction of their
 “ said Assistance and the Charges thereof.”

You must therefore permit me to observe, that you have been guilty of a little mistake in your Total of upwards of Seven Millions Sterling: And therefore I shall beg leave to demand of you a small Abatement of Six Millions seven hundred and one thousand, three hundred and thirty two Pounds Sterling in this Article.—You will give me leave also to advise you to rectify this Account in your great and valuable Collection of Materials for the *English History*.

Nor have we yet done with this Business, for the worst of it is, Sir, that what you have asserted concerning our Security against all Foreign Invasions, is hereby wholly destroy'd; for you have grounded your Argument upon the Conceit of this great Expence: And thus urge it to the Public, Page the 7th. “ After all, that Expedition was
 “ attended with such a monstrous Expence, that no
 “ Foreign Prince or State will ever put themselves
 “ to the same Charge to make the like hazardous
 “ Attempt in any Circumstance of the Kingdom what-
 “ ever;” So that the whole which you have advanc'd, upon our Security against Foreign Invasions, depending upon this monstrous Expence, is quite overturn'd.

We pass next to your 11th Page, where you favour the World with your Notions upon *public Stocks and Securities*; These must undoubtedly be
 very

very edifying: And therefore, with your Leave, I shall introduce them to the Reader; you are there speaking of the Effects which any general Dread of an Invasion have had upon our *public Stocks*, and are thus pleas'd to deliver yourself: "*But I see no manner of Ground for the Bystander's Outcries of Millions being annihilated upon such Occasions; nor can I conceive how the Nation in general could be a Loser by one Englishman's selling, and another's buying Stock at lower Rates than usual*".—Whether you can see it or not, Sir, it is certain that there have been *Millions* annihilated upon such Occasions, by the Diminution of their general Estimation or Value: And particularly upon the *Chevalier Fourbin's Expedition*, which put the whole Nation into a Panic, as it was imagin'd, that the *French* were to be supported by some domestic Insurrections. This is known to abundance of Persons now living, and testified by the most Impartial Accounts. And therefore, if you are unable, as you declare, to see this, I can only be sorry for your poor *Blindness*.

As to your other Declaration, that "*you cannot conceive how the Nation in general, could be a Loser by one Englishman's selling, and another buying Stock, at lower Rates than usual*." It is what I expected from you, and answers exactly my Idea of your Understanding; However, I am far from attempting to set a Person of your Prejudices right in the Article of *Credit*; as you have no Notion of the extensive Advantages of it to a State, or of the Multitude of Arts of all Sorts, of Manufactures and Commerce, which are chiefly supported by it; as well as the Price of all our Lands and Produces of every Sort, which depend upon the *Credit* circulating in the Kingdom.—But yet it is very possible, as you tell us, that all this may surpass your *Conception*.

Upon

Upon these Maxims of yours, however I wonder you exclaim so much in many Parts of your Book upon the Impoverishment of this Kingdom from the present *Military Forces*; for if you cannot conceive how the Nation can be the poorer by one *Englishman's* selling, and by another's buying, *Stock* at a less Rate than usual; How can one *Englishman's* giving a Part of his Property to another *Englishman*, who is a Soldier, diminish the Wealth of the Kingdom in general, or cause any Impoverishment? On the contrary, in the Case of the Sale of the *Stock*, the Value of it is sunk upon the whole, and is less than it was before: Whereas, in the Case of the *Army*, what the Soldier receives is not diminished in Value, but hath only chang'd Hands; and is transferr'd from one *Englishman* to another within the Kingdom.—I am not offering it here, Sir, as my own Opinion, that the Soldiery is no Expence to the Nation; but only pointing out how easily it may be prov'd upon your Principles; And I would therefore advise you, if you are not perpetually fond of Contradictions, either to suppress your Notions about publick Credit, or to be less declamatory against the *Army*.

You are, Page the 13th, very explicit in your Praise of "*the admirable Prudence and Address of General Monk,*" in conducting the Restoration. And you say that "*perhaps there never was upon Earth an Enterprize of so nice a Nature, attended with such a Variety of Difficulties, and requiring such a Number and Series of Steps, all properly adapted to the end, all to be taken in their due Order, and so justly to be tim'd, &c.*"—You will pardon me, Sir, if I humbly apprehend, that by this *admirable Address of General Monk*, and by *the Number and Series of Steps all to be taken in due Order, and so justly to be tim'd, &c.* You can only be describing his repeated Perjuries: For
it

it is certain, that the Chief *Address* of this General consisted in these, by which he utterly deceiv'd the credulous *Republicans*.—If this be the Intention of your Compliments to him, I shall readily admit, that though he was a Man of very dull and heavy Abilities in all other respects, he had a most admirable Talent at *Abjurations*.—But it is a pity, Sir, after all these Applauses which you give to this Conductor, as you intimate, of the *Restoration*, that you can find no favourable Word in your whole Treatise, for that generous Prince, by whose Bravery the great REVOLUTION was accomplish'd, and our Religion and Liberties happily secur'd.

I from hence pass to your 24th Page, where you criticise upon the Propriety of the following Words of the *Bystander*. “An Attack by Sea (upon *France*) in the Heart of its most fruitful Provinces would interrupt its Commerce, and suppress its Revenues, &c.” Upon which you are pleas'd to declare “*How an Attack should be made by Sea in the Heart of the most fruitful Provinces of that Country, is perfectly incomprehensible.*” I perceive, Sir, you are to be inform'd, that the *Heart* is the *Center of Circulation*: And that when this Term is apply'd to any City or Town, it is suppos'd to be the *Center of the Commerce*, and *Circulation* of its Province: And thus, Sir, by Attempts upon *Marseilles*, *Bordeaux*, *St. Maloes*, &c. *France* might be attack'd in the *Heart* of its most fruitful Provinces.—To give a similar Instance, suppose when *England* and *Scotland* were at variance, it had been purpos'd from hence, instead of making Inland IncurSIONS upon the Frontiers of *Scotland*, to send a Fleet with Forces on Board to be landed near *Edinburgh*, might not this very justly have been said, to be making an Attack by Sea upon the *Heart of Midlothian*? Or if
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the *Spaniards* were in the same Manner to make an Attempt upon *Lisbon*, would not this be attacking the very *Heart* of *Portugal*? — But I perceive, Sir, your Learning carries you no further than to conceive by the *Heart* of a thing exactly the *Middle* of it.

You take notice in your 26th Page, that the *Bystander* has made some Remarks upon the *Dissertation* of *Partys*; “ though, say you, after “ above 70 tedious Pages of wretched Suppositions “ and unfair Calculations, fit rather to puzzle a “ Cause, than clear it, he leaves it at last as he “ found it, i. e. unrefuted.” Methinks, Sir, it is a pity that you did not vouchsafe at the same time, to point out one of these wretched Suppositions or unfair Calculations; which is the usual Method of exposing the Errors of an Author. — But it is indeed observable, that through your whole Performance of two hundred and fourteen large Pages in *Octavo*, in answer to the *Bystander*, all your Quotations together from that Gentleman’s Piece, scarcely amount to a dozen Lines: A Method of Treatment in you, that eminently displays your *Candour* beyond all other Writers.

The next Criticism you make upon the *Bystander*, appears in Page the 27th, and is introduced in the following triumphant manner; — I shall give it at Length in your own Words for the Satisfaction of such Gentlemen as might otherwise imagine, that some Lenity is due to yourself; “ It is a strange thing that People will be giving “ themselves *Airs* of pronouncing in a decisive manner, touching Things of which they must be conscious, they are utterly ignorant; one naturally pities “ Ignorance when it is accompanied with its decent “ Companion Modesty: But when it struts forward “ with an insolent Air, accompanied with Self-Confidence, and a Censure of others, it is inexcusable, “ and

“and deserves to be expos’d. The By-stander, when he speaks, Page 30th, about the ancient Power of the Crown, expresses himself so unintelligibly to every Antiquary, that it is plain he knows nothing of the Matter; and one must have recourse to Guess-work to make out his Meaning.”—You will pardon me, Sir, for observing again, that it is to be wish’d you had quoted a few of those Expressions of the By-stander, or even one only, concerning the *Ancient Power of the Crown*, which are so unintelligible, as you say, to every Antiquary: It is a Satisfaction which might possibly have been agreeable to some of your Readers, notwithstanding your extraordinary Judgment and Veracity; especially, as you say you have proceeded upon GUESS-WORK, to make out his Meaning;

—But you go on in the following Words immediately subsequent to the former; “*I am willing however in Consideration of his Ignorance to impute to his wretched Informers the Mistake about W. Rufus’s exacting 20 s. a Head from 20,000 Men, whom he had summon’d for his Service in Normandy; It is lamentable they can’t so much as tell him Truth in mere Trifles.*” And afterwards you add, “*He order’d them to be dismiss’d at the Sea Side upon paying not 20, but 10 Shillings, a Man for their Victuals;*”—If this Affair, Sir, be a mere Trifle, as you say, I should imagine it might have become you to have been less insolent upon it, had the By-stander been really guilty of a Mistake: But then, say you, it is lamentable his wretched Informers can’t tell him Truth in meer Trifles;—Whom you, Sir, may guess to be his Informers, I can’t tell; But Matthew of Westminster will inform you, if you please, that William the 1st. took twenty Shillings of each Person;

This Authority, Sir, is likewise preferr’d by Sir Robert Cotton to that of Matthew Paris, in a Manuscript Account of his entitled “*Money rais’d*

“ by our Kings without Parliament from the Conquest,
 “ either by Imposition or free Gift, taken out of Re-
 “ cords or ancient Registers,” now deposited in the
 Cotton Library, Cleopatra, F. VI. Fol. 80; In
 which Account, Sir, it is expressly declar’d, that
 “ William the 11d. in the 7th Year of his Reign of
 “ 20,000 Footmen to go for Normandy, took twenty
 “ Shillings a Man, and so discharg’d them.” A Copy
 of it is printed in Page the 21st, of the Preface to
 the *Historical Account of Taxes*:—And therefore
 your abuse of the *Bystander* upon this Subject,
 has only discover’d your own wretched want of In-
 formers.

You are next very severe upon the *Bystander* in
 your Page 28th, for his mention of *Compositions for*
Scutage and Knights Service; “ But *Compositions for*
 “ *Scutage and Knights Service*, say you, were never
 “ heard of by any Mortal, till the *Bystander* has
 “ thought fit to bring them on the Stage, and what
 “ is more extraordinary by a Creative Talent, which
 “ would, in the time of King Henry the VIIth, have
 “ enabled him to supplant Empson and Dudley in that
 “ Prince’s favour; and have recommended him to the
 “ first Post in his Finances, hath rais’d an inexhausti-
 “ ble Fund of Wealth out of these *Compositions* to
 “ the Crown.”

The *Bystander*, Sir, is doubtless very highly
 oblig’d to you, for this your civil and candid Opi-
 nion of his Disposition and Talents: But in order
 to determine the Point between you, I shall pro-
 duce an indisputable Authority, which is, Mr. Ma-
 dow’s *History of the Exchequer*, Page 431; who there
 expressly begins his Chapter upon the *Revenue*
arising by Escuage or Scutage in the following
 Words; “ *Escuage or Scutage, was a Duty or Ser-*
 “ *vice arising out of Baronies and Knights Fees: It*
 “ *denoted Servitium Scuti, the Service of the Shield;*
 “ *and was wont to be render’d thus; To wit, for every*
 “ *Knight’s Fee the Service of one Knight; for every*
 “ *half*

“ *half a Fee the Service of half a Knight, and so in*
 “ *proportion: Baronies were charg’d with Escuage,*
 “ *after the like manner, to wit, according to the*
 “ *number of the Knights Fees, whether they were more*
 “ *or fewer, whereof the Barony by its original En-*
 “ *feoffment did consist; This Service of Scutage was*
 “ *perform’d two ways, either personally in the King’s*
 “ *Army, (of which it is not my Business here to treat)*
 “ *or else by pecuniary Commutation;”*—These
 are Mr. Madox’s own Words; whereby it appears,
 that Scutage, or the Service of the Shield, was either
 perform’d personally, or might be pecuniarily com-
 muted for; It is of this pecuniary Commutation, or
 of the Revenue arising by Scutage, and not of the
 personal Service which Mr. Madox expressly treats;
 And it is this pecuniary Composition for Scutage which
 appears likewise to be plainly intended by the By-
 stander.

It is probable indeed, that after a long Series
 of Years, Scutage, or the personal Service of the
 Shield, was so generally commuted for in Money,
 that this pecuniary Payment began to be understood
 as all that was intended by it: And you probably
 may have observed in gazing at old Writings, this
 pecuniary Composition for Scutage, or for the Ser-
 vice of the Shield, call’d *Scutage Money*; or often,
 through Brevity, barely *Scutage*; from whence, I
 suppose, you have fallen into your Error: And
 when a more explicit Description is given of the
 Revenue obtain’d by *Commutations* for this personal
 Service, and it is call’d a *Composition for Scutage*,
 you incontinently expose your poor want of Know-
 ledge, and cry out, that it *never was heard of by*
any Mortal.

You have equally objected to the *Composition for*
Knight’s Service, and express your self thus, in your
 29th Page, “ *Knight’s Service was a kind of Tenure,*
 “ *by which Lands were held either of the Crown or of*

“ the Lords, and which obliged the Tenant to no
 “ Payment of Rent, but only to personal Service ;”
 Admitting this to be true, Sir, yet if the *personal*
 Service was not perform'd, which was due to the
 Crown, was it not then compounded for in Money ?
 I again refer to Mr. Madox on the Exchequer,
 Page 458, who thus expressly declares, “ If the
 “ Barons and Knights holding in Capite, did not go
 “ in person with the King in his Army, in that case
 “ they sent sometimes Knights in their stead, to do
 “ the Service belonging to their respective Fees, and
 “ sometimes they made Fine with the King, ne trans-
 “ fretent, or pro remanendo ab exercitu, or quia
 “ non abierunt cum Rege ;” Of which *pecuniary*
Fines or *Compositions* Mr. Madox gives several
 Instances.—You will therefore do well to conceal
 for the future, that a Person of your great *histo-*
rical Learning had no Conception of what could
 be meant by *Compositions* for *Scutage* and *Knight-*
Service.

It is indeed very extraordinary to observe the
 authoritative manner in which you discourse upon
Scutage, *Tenants* to the *Crown* in *Capite*, and the an-
 cient Methods and Course of the *Exchequer* ; for
 though you seem to refer to Mr. Madox, you ne-
 ver think fit to quote his Words, but only give
 us your own incoherent Paraphrase upon them ;
 For it seems to be a religious Maxim of yours,
 never to suffer any Person you deal with to appear
 fairly in his own Words, but to give such an
 account of his Sense and Meaning in *your*
Phrases, as you happen to think most fit for your
Purpose ; But by this Method, Sir, however in-
 genious you may fancy your self in it, you are
 continually led into various *Absurditys* for want
 of a little Judgment.—A remarkable Instance of
 which appears in your 31st Page, where you say ;
 “ Mr. Madox tells us, That when the Barons and
 “ Knights

“ Knights were summon’d to the Field, they were,
 “ upon their Arrival in the Host, muster’d by the
 “ Constable or Marshal, and deliver’d in Certificates
 “ or Accounts of the number of the Fees they held,
 “ and generally took occasion to SINK or CONCEAL a
 “ good part of them;” and afterwards you add,
 “ The Fraud went daily on continuing and increasing,
 “ till this Branch of the King’s Revenue was reduced
 “ to a Trifle;” and again, “ No way could be found
 “ to remedy this Disorder, but by leaving it to the
 “ Nobility and Gentry to fix the number of their own
 “ Fees, and getting them to meet together to settle
 “ the Rate of the Scutage.”

It is obvious at first, to every Person of common Sense, that this Method could never remedy the Disorder, because it arose as you tell us your self, from the Disposition of the Nobility and Gentry to sink or conceal the number of their Fees; And as what you have thus asserted is excessively weak, I shall now prove from Mr. Madox, in his Book on the *Exchequer*, that it is absolutely false: He there declares expressly upon this Subject, Page 472, That, “ In regard in process of time it
 “ was very doubtful by how many Knight’s Fees Lands
 “ were holden, and the like; I say, for these and
 “ other Causes, it became almost necessary, that Escuage [or Scutage] should be collected by the Sheriffs of Counties, who might take Inquisition by the
 “ Oath of Jurors, concerning these and such like Articles;” Of which he gives several Instances from the ancient Rolls; Mr. Madox likewise shews, Page 473, that about the 27th of Henry III, “ It
 “ was provided by the Common Council of the Realm,
 “ that the Escuage should be collected by the Sheriffs
 “ of Counties.”—Whereas you assert, that no way could be found to remedy the Disorder, but to leave it to the Nobility and Gentry to fix the Number
 of

of their own Fees."—After this let any Gentleman judge, what Regard is to be paid to these solemn Accounts of yours, in which you affect to display your great Knowledge in Antiquity.

These Instances of your Abilitys, which I have already deliver'd, however satisfactory they may be to most Gentlemen, are only mere Trifles to what will appear in the following Specimen; It is an Attempt which would indeed be formidable to other Writers; but to you, Sir, who are so readily furnish'd with Materials from your own Stock, it is a very easy Undertaking; And is no more than, as you express it your self, Page the 39th, "*to enumerate particularly all the Taxes raised on the Nation,*" from the Conquest downwards.

This your Enumeration of the Taxes you say contains, "*All that were raised on the Nation, besides what you have already mention'd, under the Subject of the three Aids, and that of Scutage;*" These three Aids you have discoursed upon before, Page the 34th, which were, *To marry the King's eldest Daughter; to make his eldest Son a Knight; and to ransom his Person if taken in War;* And therefore, by adding what you have inserted under these three Heads, and likewise under that of *Scutage*, we shall obtain your compleat Enumeration of "*all the Taxes raised upon the Nation.*"

You will permit me likewise, in order to demonstrate your Superiority to all other Writers, to exhibit what Sir Robert Cotton, Mr. Madox, Mr. Leland, and other Historians and Antiquarys have deliver'd upon the same Subject; whereby it will easily appear, that you have not only *refuted* the *Bystander*, but likewise all these Authorities, in your incomparable full Answer.

However, to prevent the Surprize of any Gentleman, who might otherwise be astonished at the

Novelty

Novelty of your Accounts, it is proper to premise, that you are actuated with a most peculiar *Zeal* for deceased Princes; This Passion of yours you have acquainted the World with in your 176th Page; and the Effects of it, very strongly appear, in your suppressing the Taxes, which have been levy'd by all the *deceas'd Princes* BEFORE the Revolution;—For it is to be observ'd, that your Zeal is extended to none, who have reign'd since that *Æra*.

What I have to quote from Sir Robert Cotton, is contain'd in the Manuscript of his before-mention'd, entitled, "*Money rais'd by the King without Parliament from the Conquest until this Day, either by Imposition or free Gift, taken out of Records or ancient Registers;*" Which, as it will be easily observ'd, pretends not to comprehend ALL the Money rais'd without Consent of Parliament; but only an account of Money thus rais'd, for which Sir Robert had found sufficient Authority himself; This I shall occasionally confirm by Manuscripts and Authoritys cited in the *Historical Account of Taxes*; (which you have quoted yourself, Page 163, as an accurate Treatise) And by Mr. Madox in his *Discourse on the Exchequer*, whose Credit is indisputable; As he advances nothing but what he exemplifies by Extracts from the ancient Rolls and other authentic Records.

And now, Sir, I present your several Accounts.

The great Mr. Carte.] "*William the 1st. levy'd only six Shillings an Hide on Land in the 15th Year of his Reign.*"

This is the only Tax of any Sort, which you admit to have been levied by this Monarch.

Sir

Sir Robert Cotton.] “William the 1st. in the fourth
 “Year of his Reign, took all the Money, Jewels
 “and Plate out of religious Houses; to furnish
 “him in his Wars: He reduc’d the Lands of the
 “Church into Knights Fees, expelling such as op-
 “pos’d that Work: He rais’d out of every Plough-
 “Land, Hidage and Danegelt *divers times*; some-
 “times at *two Shillings*, sometimes at *six Shillings*
 “the Hide or Plough-Land.”

This is confirm’d by the ancient Writers and Re-
 gisters.

The great Mr. Carte.] “William Rufus in his time
 “rais’d nothing on his People, but the 10,000 l.
 “which at the Rate of 10 Shillings a Man, he re-
 “ceiv’d from 20,000 of his Military Tenants, whom
 “he had summon’d to pass over for his Service into
 “Normandy.”

Sir Robert Cotton.] “William the 11d. rais’d of the
 “Bishops and religious Persons great Sums; of
 “some, as *Lincoln*, 500 Marks in the 5th Year of
 “his Reign. In the 7th Year of 20,000 Footmen
 “to go for *Normandy*, he took 20 Shillings a Man,
 “and so discharg’d them; To furnish his Brother,
 “upon the Pawn of *Normandy* for the Holy
 “Voyage, much Money he got from the Abbots,
 “Nobles, and wealthiest Subjects in the 9th Year
 “of his Reign: And *Danegelt* from all his Peo-
 “ple; long keeping to increase his Treasury, the
 “Revenues of religious Houses in Vacancy.”

This is confirmed by the ancient Registers or
 Writers.

The great Mr. Carte.] “No Tax whatever was laid
 “in the Reign of Henry the 1st.”

“ Sir

Sir Robert Cotton.] “ Henry the I. the last of the
 “ first *William's* Sons, in his tenth Year, took five
 “ Shillings Danegelt, and often after the like.”

There are several Testimonys cited in the *Historical Account of Taxes*; to prove the Payment of Danegelt, *Anno Dom. 1109*, which was the 10th of King *Henry's* Reign: And the Payment of it afterwards, is undeniably proved by Mr. *Madox*; Page 457, in these Words: “ Danegelt was different from either Aid, Escuage, or Tallage; 'Tis well known that it was first set on foot in the Anglo-Saxon Times; however it continu'd for many Years after the Norman Conquest; for Example in the Reign of King *Henry* the 1st. (*Anno Dom. 1114.*) it was paid throughout the whole Realm.”

And Mr. *Madox* proves likewise, Page 435, from a Writ to the Constable of *Chester*, that *Scutages* were assess'd under *Henry* the first; Although Mr. *Carte* has asserted, that no Tax whatever was levied in his Reign.

The great Mr. *Carte*.] “ No Tax whatever was laid
 “ in the Reign of King *Stephen*.”

The Payment of *Danegelt* in King *Stephen's* Reign is prov'd by Mr. *Madox*, Page 475, in these Words; “ In the Reign of King *Stephen*, *Danegelt* was answer'd to the Crown in a punctual and orderly manner; For Instance, in the great Roll of the fifth Year of that King, it is accounted for in every County, as if it was a settled yearly Revenue;” After which he gives Instances of its being paid for six Years together: The Payment of a *Danum* likewise in this King's Reign, and of an *Aid* by the *Boroughs* and *Towns*, is likewise indisputably prov'd by Mr. *Madox*.

The great Mr. Carte.] “ Henry the II^d. had very few
 “ Taxes, though it is amazing how he could carry
 “ on the continual Wars, wherein he was engaged,
 “ during a long Reign of 35 Years with so little Charge
 “ to his People: For all that was rais’d upon them,
 “ was a Subsidy of two Pence in the Pound on Arable
 “ Lands and Vineyards, and a Penny in the Pound
 “ on Houses and Goods, in the 12th Year: And in the
 “ 34th and 35th of his Reign, a Tenth of all Move-
 “ ables: Nor were these last for his own Service, but
 “ for the Relief of the Holy Land, a romantic kind
 “ of Piety very fashionable in those Days, to which
 “ the King himself contributed large Sums.”

And again “ In the active Reign of Henry the II^d.
 “ more infested with Wars than any in our History, I
 “ find but seven Scutages assess’d:” One of which
 was for the Marriage of his Daughter to the Duke
 of Saxony.

Sir Robert Cotton.] “ Henry the II^d. in the first
 “ five Years levy’d one Scutage, and in the sixth
 “ Year again through all England, which a-
 “ mounted to 10200*l*. the Standard of Silver
 “ then being not the third to ours; in his seventh
 “ Year the like at two Marks every Knight’s Fee
 “ for the Charge of his Service before Toloſe; the
 “ fourth Scutage for the same Service he levy’d in
 “ his eighth Year, assess’d at one Mark each Fee;
 “ An Aid he had in 11th *pro Servientibus inveniendis in*
 “ *Exercitu Wallie*; And the 14th of his Reign for
 “ the Marriage of his Daughter, Scutage rated at a
 “ Mark of all that held in Knight’s Service: And
 “ of those in Soccage Danegelt, being by the
 “ Hide or Plough-Land, having the Year before
 “ Tax’d the Church and Laity at Two-pence in
 “ the Pound for one, and a Penny in the Pound for
 “ four Years after; All Persons to answer their
 “ just Estates upon Oath; The 18th he took his
 “ sixth Scutage for his Army in Ireland at 20 Shil-
 “ lings

“ lings the Fee; The seventh and his last, was the
 “ 33d of his Reign; 20 Shillings the Scute for his
 “ Forces in *Galloway*: And dying, left 900,000 l.
 “ in *Bullion*, besides his Jewels and regal Orna-
 “ ments.”

It may be observed here, Sir, that you have
 though fit to suppress the Aid levy'd in the 11th
 Year of his Reign, *pro Servientibus inveniendis in*
Exercitu Wallie.

This Aid is indisputably confirm'd by Mr. *Madox*, Page 419. in these Words: “ In the 11th of
 “ King Henry the 11d. the Sheriffs of *London* an-
 “ swer'd to the Crown CCC and XXXIII. and
 “ odd, under the Terms *de Auxilio Exercitus in Wal-*
 “ *lia*, for the City of *London*: And the Moneyors
 “ of the same City paid in XL under the Terms
 “ *de Assisa ejusdem Exercitus.*”

It is likewise to be remark'd that the *Subsidy*
 which you mention to have been *Two-pence in the*
Pound on Arable Lands and Vineyards, and one Penny
in the Pound on Houses and Goods in his twelfth Year,
 was *Two-pence in the Pound on all these* for ONE YEAR,
 and one Penny in the Pound on all for FOUR YEARS
 after.

This is mention'd not only by Sir Robert Cotton
 above, but is likewise confirm'd by another Mil-
 cellany in the Cotton Library, *Cleopatra*, F. VI.
Fol. 9; And by other Authoritys cited in the *Hi-*
storical Account of Taxes.

Mr. *Madox* likewise shews that Danegelt was
 paid in this King's Reign, Page 476 in these
 Words: “ In the beginning of Henry the 11d's
 “ Reign, the Sheriffs continue to account for
 “ Danegelt,” of which he produces several In-
 stances. Again, Page 479. he says, “ In the 21st
 “ Year of the same King, Writs of Summons
 “ issued out of the Exchequer into the several

“Counties of *England* for levying *Danegelt*,” and he cites Examples of it likewise in other Years.

It is also to be remark’d, that, the Account of the *Scutage* Money levy’d in the sixth Year of this Reign, at two Marks each Fee is mention’d by Sir *Robert Cotton* to have been 102004*l*; And in another Manuscript in the *Cotton Library*, *Cleopatra*, F. VI. Fol. 9. (as it is cited in the *Historical Account of Taxes*) to have been 124,000*l*. which is very different, after making all proper Allowances, from 32,000*l*. which is your highest Account of the Value of a *Scutage*.

There were also many *Tallages* or *Assessments* impos’d in this Reign, of which Mr. *Madox* gives several Instances; all which *Tallages*, Sir, together with the *Aid for the Army in Wales*, the just State of the *Subsidy of Two-pence and one Penny*, and *Danegelt*, are omitted in your compleat Enumeration of the Taxes.

The great Mr. *Carter*.] “*Richard the 1st’s Expedition*
 “*to the Holy Land, in Performance of his Vow,*
 “*not only forc’d him to sell the County of Durham to*
 “*the Bishop, and to pawn a great Part of his Re-*
 “*venues; but occasioned a Tax upon the People: Be-*
 “*ing taken as he was returning home, another was*
 “*laid to defray his Ransom; And returning in want*
 “*of all Things, a Tax of two Shillings an Hide, was*
 “*in his sixth Year levy’d on Land to supply his Wants;*
 “*as another of five Shillings, was in his tenth Year*
 “*to support the War with the King of France; this*
 “*though the shortest was the most chargeable Reign to*
 “*the Kingdom, that had been since the Conquest.*”
 Besides these Taxes, you are pleas’d to declare
 Page the 29th, “*That in the Reign of Richard the*
 “*1st. you find but two Scutages.*”

Sir *Robert Cotton*.] “*Richard the 1st. commanded*
 “*his first Year a large Benevolence from all his*
 “*Subjects,*

" Subjects, under the Title of Alms, because he
 " pretended it for the Holy Land; In the second,
 " his Chancellor Bishop of *Ely*, impos'd upon every
 " good Town *two* Horses of Service, and *two*
 " Hackneys: And of every Abby, and rich reli-
 " gious House *one* of either; In his fifth Year,
 " his Justices by that Ordinance levy'd in his Ab-
 " sence the fourth Part of the Clergy's and No-
 " bility's Goods; And of the *Cistercian* Monks the
 " Wools; Hidage under a new Name *Tenementate*,
 " he impos'd at two Shillings every Plough, the
 " third Part of Scutage; and forc'd the *white*
 " Monks again for Money to redeem their Wools;
 " His *sixth* Year having by this Time by Account
 " of his Treasury spent *undecies centena Millia Mar-*
 " *carum*; In the *tenth* he took again of every
 " Plough-Land five Shillings, and faining to have
 " lost his old Seal, while he was Prisoner in *Almain*,
 " inforc'd all that would enjoy their Lands and
 " Liberties to fine for Confirmation under his new."

All this is confirm'd by the ancient Writers and Registers.

Mr. *Madox* likewise mentions Page 486, several
Tallages assess'd in this Reign: And though, Sir, you
 may perhaps assert, that these are included by you,
 as well as the Tax of the *fourth Part* of the Goods
 of the Nobility and Clergy, in the Taxes you
 mention in Gros for defraying his Journey to the
 Holy Land, and his Ransom; Yet it appears by
 Mr. *Madox*, that some of the *Tallages* were levy'd
 about his seventh and tenth Years, which were a
 great while after his Return;—You have omitted
 also the *Fines* which he imposed for Licenses and
 Renewals of all Sorts under his new Seal.—Mr.
Madox likewise mentions Page 443 and 444, *four*
Scutages assess'd in this Reign, *viz.* for the Army
 in *Wales*, for the Army in *Galloway*, and the *second*
 and *third* *Scutages* for the Army in *Normandy*;
 And he there cites particular Instances of the
 Pay-

Payments to each ; so that including the *first* Scutage for the Army in *Normandy*, it is indisputable, that there were *five* Scutages at least in this Reign ; though you, Sir, have ventur'd to assert, that there were no more than *two* ; Besides your omission of the *Fines* and *Tallages*.

The great Mr. Carte.] “ King John besides his Ex-
 “ actions on the Clergy which were grievous enough,
 “ and one of the Causes of the Troubles of his Reign,
 “ rais'd only a Tax of three Shillings a Hide on the
 “ People :” And Page 29, “ In King John's Reign
 “ were eleven Scutages.”

Sir Robert Cotton.] King John succeeded his Brother, and took of every Knight's Fee two Marks
 “ his first Year, and twice the second *three* Shil-
 “ lings of every Plough-Land ; a *tenth* he impos'd
 “ the third for the Holy Land ; Of the next five
 “ there is no mention in Record, or Story ; In
 “ the ninth he took of all Goods the *tenth* Part :
 “ And in the twelfth 100,000*l.* of the Clergy ; In
 “ the thirteenth, he tax'd every Knight's Fee that
 “ attended not his Wars in *Wales* at two Marks,
 “ and assels'd on the *Cistercian* Monks in the four-
 “ teenth, 20,000*l.*”

It appears from this Manuscript of Sir Robert Cotton's, that you have omitted *two Tenths* and *one Hidage* ; And from another Manuscript in the Cotton Library, *Cleopatra*, F. VI. Fol. 9. cited in the *Historical Account of Taxes*, wherein all the Taxes in this Reign are very accurately summ'd up, that you have also suppress'd, besides the *two Tenths* and *Hidage*, *one Fortieth*, *one Seventh* and *one Thirtieth*, of the Revenues or Moveables of the Laity and Clergy :

—But as I am far from endeavouring to aggravate the Taxes, which were rais'd in these Times, I must here, Sir, demand your Reasons for particularly charging King John with grievous Exactions upon the Clergy :—It seems to me to be the Fate of
 this

this Monarch, to be continually traduc'd by the *Priests* of all Ages;—Upon this Occasion therefore, I shall take the Liberty myself, with your Leave, to put in for a small Share of *Zeal for a decess'd Prince*.

It is certain that King *John* levy'd Money upon the Kingdom according to the Arbitrary manner of those Times: But that he levy'd more, or so much, as most other Princes within the same Number of Years, does not appear; particularly he was not guilty of that mean Artifice of changing his *Seal*, and extorting Money for *Renewals* of Grants and Licences; of which his Predecessor *Richard* the 1st. and his Successor *Henry* the 3rd. were both guilty.

His Severity to the *Jews*, was not greater than that of other Princes:—And as to the *Clergy*, it does not appear, that he seiz'd all the Money in their Monasterys and Convents at one time, like *William* the 1st. and *Edward* the 1st. without any Provocation.—It appears indeed, that the *Clergy* in his Reign, as well as in others, pleaded their ancient *Exemptions* from Taxes, and that it was contrary to their Consciences to grant any thing, without the Consent of the *Pope*; Upon which he was forc'd to seize their Effects.—But still this was no more than all his Predecessors and Successors for several Reigns have done in like Cases.—The Truth then is, he ventur'd to take one Step further: And this was, to seize their CONCUBINES; for whose Redemption he exacted a large Sum of Money.

This is no random Surmize, but is particularly express'd in the Manuscript before mention'd*, deposited in the Cotton Library, *Cleopatra*, F.VI. Fol. 9. in the following Words; “*In his ninth Year he exacted*” “*by Redemptions of the Concubines of the Clergy a great*” “*Sum.*”—Which was undoubtedly a most grievous Hard-

* *Vide* Historical Account of Taxes. Page 45.

Hardship upon the *Monks*—I find likewise by the *Historical Account of Taxes*, that he oblig'd the *Abbys and Priorys*, to register all their *Servants whatever*, with their particular *Profession and Business*.—This also, I confess, was another *Exaction* on the poor *Clergy*; And were both, as far as I can find, very prudently avoided by other *Monarchs*: It was from these *Steps*, I apprehend, that the *peculiar* Inveteracy and Calumnys of the *Monks* have pursued *King John*; And though his *Exactions* in other *Respects* were less than those of his *Predecessors* and *Successors*; yet *these*, which he was guilty of, were *such*, as they could never forgive; Their *Brethren* upon the *Continent* were all alarm'd at the dangerous *Precedents* which he had made;—Immediately the *Holy Father* interdicted him; and his *Subjects* were incited to *Rebellion* under pain of *Damnation*: And he was not only prevented from enjoying any *Peace*, whilst he liv'd; but his *Memory* is transmitted, as a *Mark* to be shot at, by *high Termagant Priests*, to all *Posterity*.

Having thus testify'd my *Zeal* for this *deceased Prince*, I proceed to your *Account* of the *Reign* of his *Successor*.

The great Mr. Carte.] “ Henry the III^d. in his
 “ fifth, eighth, and ninth Years had Grants of two
 “ Shillings an Hide: In his seventeenth a fortieth on
 “ Goods; in his twenty second a thirtieth; In his
 “ ninth, tenth, eleventh and twelfth a fifteenth, which,
 “ with his Tallages on the Jews, Taxes on the Clergy,
 “ Scutages and other Aids levy'd in the first forty
 “ one Years of his Reign, Mathew Paris, A. D.
 “ 1257, computes to have amounted in the whole
 “ to 633,333l. 6s. 8d. after which the People were
 “ burden'd with no other Tax, but a twentieth in
 “ his fifty first Year, And (what the Religion of
 “ those Days put upon them) a fifteenth in his fifty
 “ fifth Year, for his Son the Prince's Expedition

“ to the Holy Land; Matthew Paris is an Author,
 “ that never lessens any Charge laid by the Crown
 “ on the People, and yet we shall hardly in these
 “ Days think it so enormous a Sum as he does, to
 “ be raised in the longest Reign of any Prince that
 “ ever sat on the Throne of England;”—You like-
 wise mention, Page the 29th, that there were
 “ fifteen Scutages in the fifty six Years of Henry
 “ the III^d.”

The Accounts which Sir Robert Cotton and other Writers have given of the Taxes in this long Reign, are drawn into too great a Length to be inserted in this Place; It seems they could not dispatch the Sums raised in a Series of *fifty six* Years, with that exquisite Facility which you are Master of; But, Sir,—To pay some regard to your Account—with Submission to your superior Vivacity and Parts, it would be kind in you to inform the Public, upon what Authority you have jump’d over a Term of *ten* Years together in this Reign, and discharged it from all Taxes; For after your Quotation from *Matthew Paris* of the Amount of all the Taxes *whatever*, levy’d in the *first forty one Years* of this Reign; You add, “ After which the People were burdened
 “ with no other Tax; but a twentieth in his *fifty*
 “ *first Year*; and a fifteenth in his *fifty fifth Year* for his
 “ *Son the Prince’s Expedition into the Holy Land.*”

Whereas Sir Robert Cotton, and all other Writers upon this Reign have expressly declared, that from the *forty first Year* to the *last*, many other Taxes were assess’d upon the People, besides the *one twentieth* and *one fifteenth*, which you have thought fit to allow;—I shall particularly exhibit what Sir Robert Cotton has said at the End of his *Manuscript* upon this Subject, which is abundantly confirmed by other Authority.

Sir Robert Cotton.] “ *In the forty second Year, Scutage was imposed, being the eleventh in this King’s Reign, besides an Aid of all his Subjects, for which he promisetb to settle the State of the Kingdom with speed in Order; The forty fourth he taketh the thirtieth Part of the Clergy’s Goods, and 300,000 Marks of the French King for the Release of Normandy; He assess’d on the Clergy a Tenth for six Years, and took the twentieth Penny of the Laity, in his fifty first; To furnish the Prince in his Holy Journey, he taxed all his Subjects with the fifteenth part of their Goods; and Tallage of all the Demefne Lands of the Crown.*”

This Scutage, the Aid from all his Subjects, the thirtieth of the Goods of the Clergy, and six tenths; besides a great Multitude of other Aids in the former parts of this Reign, you have entirely suppressed in your compleat Enumeration of the Taxes.

It will be to no purpose to pursue you regularly through the rest of the Reigns; in each of which you have given us the same ample Specimens of your *Knowledge and Veracity*, flatly contradicting Sir Robert Cotton, Mr. Madox, Mr. Leland, and all our ancient Records and Registers.——

I am indeed sensible that a Disposition for *Mirth*, and laughing at your egregious Weakness, is the proper Temper of Mind to go through your Performance with; Yet such absolute Falstys, upon Subjects of this Importance, delivered with the most solemn Air of *Learning and Accuracy*, must be excessively offensive to every Gentleman; Unacquainted, as you are, with Facts, and a Stranger to all Clearness and Coherence, it is shocking to see you strut forth with an Air of *Superiority* and Contempt of all others; pretending to elucidate the most dark and obscure Parts in the *English History*;

History; declaring the precise Amount of the ancient *Scutages* and Impositions; And confidently delivering to the World your own Inventions and Absurditys, as a compleat *Enumeration of all our Taxes*.

If such Abuse of the Public, such a Contempt of all Truth in *Historical* Subjects, is suffered to pass uncheck'd by the just Detestation of Gentlemen, they must submit to be continually pester'd, and to have their Time mispent, by the most wretched Performances; Nor will it be any wonder, if, in such a pernicious Encouragement of Scribblers, we should see you farther publishing your Zeal for *Deceased Princes*; and at length *assaulting* us from the Press, as you have long threatned, with your new and *impartial English History*.

If it should be now seriously demanded of me, in what manner I apprehend you have formed your *Enumeration of the Taxes*; I answer, that, I conceive, you seated yourself, like a *Westminster Justice* in his Office; And imagined, that you had the Princes of *England* like Prisoners brought in before you; The Crimes laid to their Charge, were certain *Taxes*, as, *Tallages, Scutages, Hidages, Sevenths, Tenths, Twelfths, Fifteenths, &c*; which they have exacted from the People; — Upon this, when any Monarch is presented before you, as suppose *Edward the 1st*, who is the next in order, you examine Sir *Richard Baker*, or any other *Historian*, to the Number of Years, which the said *Edward* reigned; and finding these to be *thirty five Years*, and that he went thro' several long Scenes of Extravagance in that time, and was very active, you immediately make out his *Mittimus* without further Trouble; and charge him with such a number of Exactions, as *Tallages, Scutages, Tenths, Fifteenths, &c*, as you

guess he must have committed in his Time of Reigning.

It is thus, Sir, I have explained to myself your *Account* of the *Taxes*; And in this View, I examine your Detail of any particular Reign;—As for Instance of *Edward* the 1st, the Prince we have been now mentioning; Though you have made out his *Mittimus* very favourably, and have said that the *Taxes* were almost all given to him by the Clergy and Laity, contrary to what Sir *Robert Cotton* and other Historians have expressly asserted;—However I beg leave to present his *Indictment* as you have huddled it up in your own Words.

The Great Mr. *Carte*.] “ *Edward* the 1st. the wisest
 “ and greatest of our Kings laid two Tallages on his
 “ *Demefne* and *Socage* Tenants; He had from the Laity
 “ three Tenths, and six from the Clergy, some of them
 “ for the Relief of the Holy Land, to which purpose
 “ were also destined some of the six Fifteenth given by
 “ the former; the Clergy gave him one Fifteenth, and
 “ once a Moiety of their Goods, besides two Twenti-
 “ eths; as the Laity did two Thirtieths and one
 “ Twentieth; besides which in his eighth Year the
 “ Boroughs gave him a Sixth; and the Commons an
 “ Eleventh, as they did a Seventh and Twelfth in
 “ the twenty fifth Year of his Reign; These were all
 “ the Taxes raised in the time of this active Prince.”

It seems to me impossible to conceive that you form'd this huddled Account in any other manner, than I have before described; for you have not rightly delivered in the Amount of any one Species of these Taxes, but have omitted almost half what were levy'd in this Reign; In particular you omit the remarkable *Duty upon Wooll*, which was raised by this King from half a Mark to forty Shillings each Sack; which is expressed, in the State of
 the

the Grievances laid before this King by the Prelates, Nobility and Commons of the Realm; who therein declare, "That the Wooll of England amounts to almost the Value of half the Land, and the Duty of forty Shillings each Sack arises to the fifth part of the Value of all the Land." But this, Sir, was too inconsiderable a Tax for your Notice; or rather it never happened to come into your Imagination; By which infallible Rule it can be no longer a Doubt, that you have form'd your most true and compleat Enumeration of the Taxes.

After I have thus fully made the Public acquainted with your new Fund of Historical Materials, it may be proper also in this place to add an Instance of your Method of Reasoning upon these Subjects, and of those curious Deductions, which you continually make from Facts, beyond the Apprehension of other Writers; Thus, not to seek far, after the Account which you have given of Edward the Ist's Taxes, you proceed in the following Words: "It must be observed, that except four or five in the first Years of his Reign, all these Taxes were granted to him by Parliament; for having regulated the Constitution and Assemblies of that representative Body of the Nation, he laid aside all former Ways of Taxation, and chose to have every thing raised on the Subjects flow from their Grant; For which Purpose he passed an Act in the 34th Year of his Reign, providing that no Tallage or Aid should be levy'd upon the People, but by their own Consent in Parliament."

This, Sir, is a most exquisite Specimen of your Talent at Reasoning; The Substance of it is, That this Prince, after the Beginning of his Reign, had all the Taxes in other Years granted to him
by

by Parliament; FOR WHICH PURPOSE he passed an Act in the 34th Year of his Reign, providing that no Tallages or Aids should be afterwards levy'd without their Consent; —

That is, *he provided against all Arbitrary Raising of Money, in the middle of his Reign, by passing an Act at the end of it, to regulate the Method of Taxation for the future*: This is such egregious Stuff, as surely never proceeded from any other Scribbler; and is of the same Pattern, with your former Absurdity in introducing the ALLIES before the Revolution, and pointing out by an Article of the GRAND ALLIANCE, in what manner they were induced to favour the Prince of Orange's Expedition.

In this Place, Sir, it may be proper, to warn you of an Error, which, as I conceive, from your *Circumstances and manner of Reasoning* you are very liable to fall into;—I have very good Evidence, that excepting the *first* Years of your Life, you have been continually addicted to scribbling Nonsense; And it is possible that, after this Correction, you may be urged by your Friends, to be silent for the future; If this should be the Case, and you take their Advice, you are not to imagine, that by this *last Act* of Taciturnity, you can *lay aside all your FORMER Blunders*; For though it will be a wise Resolution, you may be assured it can avail you no more, than to prevent your being a *future Offender*.

Having done Justice to this exquisite Passage of yours, I am again immediately detained, by these Words which you add, “ *So that from this time (that is from the 34th of Edward the 1st.) we have a sure Guide from our Statutes to know what Taxes were raised on the Nation.*” To be plain, Sir, this is absolutely false, as I shall now
evi-

evidently prove by some Extracts from Sir Robert Cotton's *Manuscript of Taxes*, levy'd without Parliamentary Consent, which are abundantly confirmed by other Authoritys beyond all Dispute.

"Edward the IId. imposed two Shillings *ultra antiquam consuetudinem* upon all the Goods of Merchants Strangers, in his second Year."

"Edward the IIIId. imposed Tallage through all his Dominions in his sixth Year."

"Henry the IVth. levy'd so great a Sum by Contribution upon his People in the eighth Year of his Reign, that he desired, *ut evidētia post datum compotum cremaretur* — A Contribution also he took to defray his Charge into France in his last Year."

"Henry the VIth. commanded in his fifteenth Year two of each Parish to appear before Commissioners to serve in Person in his Wars, or allow in Money the Rate of two Days Expence, according to their Degree or Quality."

"Henry the VIIth. to aid the Christians against the Incurfions of the *Turks*, imposed an Aid upon the People, at the Pope's Request in his seventeenth Year."

"Henry the VIIIth levying an Army to invade France, and assist the Duke of Bourbon, demandeth of his People a Contribution, which he calleth an annual Grant; which, though with some Distraction and Distaste, was paid in the twenty first, into the Exchequer, where Priors and Clergymen of like Ability are rated at 4 *l*, Knights at 40 Marks, Esquires at 10 *l*, and Persons of inferior Quality at 5 Marks; He gathered in the thirty seventh and thirty eighth Year of his Reign for *urgent Occasions* touching his Person and State (for such are the Words of the

"Instruc-

"Instructions) two several Grants of Free Gifts
 "from his Subjects, the last being stiled *Devotion Money*, was mostly collected in the first
 "of *Edward the VIth.*"

Besides these, *Sir Robert Cotton* mentions several other *Impositions* under these Reigns; *Benevolences* were also exacted under King *James* and King *Charles* the First; And in the Reign of the later, *Ship-Money* for four Years together, at 200,000 *l. per Annum*; — Not the least Mention of any of which Taxes appears in the *public Statutes*; Though you have declared they are a sure Guide or Index, since the 34th of *Edward* the Ist, to all the Taxes.

After this you proceed with your *compleat Enumeration* through the rest of the Reigns, frequently omitting as in *Henry* the VIIIth's and Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reigns, even the Dutys of *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, which are the most obvious Branches of the Revenue; and come at last to your 52d. Page, where you deliver yourself in these Words; "King *James* the Ist. dying after
 "a Reign of twenty two Years, in which besides
 "the *Tonnage* and *Poundage*, which *Sir Edward Coke* tells us was form'd at 160,000 *l. a Year*,
 "ALL THE AIDS HE RECEIVED FROM HIS SUBJECTS, amounted at most to 830,000 *l. which at*
 "a Medium of twenty two Years, is less than 40,000 *l. a Year.*"

This Sum of 830,000 *l.* you have deliberately obtained, by computing the Amount of certain *Subsidys*, *Tenths* and *Fifteenths*, which you are pleased to assign to this King; Though these are far from being agreeable to the *Public Statutes*, — you likewise represent him, Page the 49th, as a frugal Manager, as *retrenching the Expences of his Household*, and involved in *Difficultys* and
 Wants

Wants merely by the Abstemious Grants of his Parliaments.

These, Sir, are your Assertions in your *full Answer*; All which you have directly contradicted in your first *Volume* of the *Life of the Duke of Ormond*, Page the 50th, where you give the following Account of the *Extravagance* of this King, and of the Aids he receiv'd from Parliament.

“ *King James the 1st. was lavish in his Nature, and so immoderate in his Grants, that having in the first SIXTEEN Years of his Reign receiv'd TWO MILLIONS TWO HUNDRED THOUSAND POUNDS in Aids from Parliament, he had squander'd all that Sum, and a great deal more in Gifts to the Scotch and English Courtiers, and had reduc'd himself to such a terrible Distress, for Want of Money, that his Exchequer was empty, and he had very little Credit to raise any.*”

These direct Oppositions in your Writings, Sir, must be imputed by the World to your *Ignorance* or *Dis honesty*, according to the different Opinions of Gentlemen, concerning your superior *Excellence* in either; And it is true, that your Contradictions at first seem capable of being accounted for, only upon one of these Principles; But for my own part, who have pretty accurately examin'd your *Disposition* and *Talents*, I must confess I am in doubt, whether they may not have proceeded from another Motive; which is that of your *Ambition* or *Prowess*; For it seems to me, that after you have overthrown in the beginning of your *full Answer*, not only the *Bystander*, but Sir Robert Cotton, Mr. Leland, Mr. Madox, the *Ancient Records* and *Public Statutes*, you determin'd next, as the most consummate Instance of your *Valour*, to conquer yourself likewise; As according to the Maxim of the Philosophers, *He that Conquers HIMSELF, is greater than the Conqueror of the*

WORLD;—In this View I regard your continual *self-Oppositions*, and must acknowledge, that whatever your Success has been upon *other* Occasions, you have continually attain'd to this *highest Point* of Victory.

It is possible in this Place, that some Person may imagine you are right in one of these Sums, either in the 830,000*l*, for the Amount of *all the Aids granted to King James by Parliament*; or in the 2,200,000*l*, for the Amount of the *Aids granted to him in the FIRST SIXTEEN YEARS of his Reign*; The first is absolutely false, as you have omitted several *Subsidys, Tenths and Fifteenths*, which are specified in the *Statutes*; And the second Sum is equally true, for it appears from the *History of the first FOURTEEN YEARS of King James*, that all the *Money extraordinarily rais'd since his Majesty's coming to the Crown during that Time*, amounted to *two Millions one hundred and ninety three thousand three hundred and seventy four Pounds*; Which, though it is nearly the Sum which you mention, arose not all from *Parliamentary Aids*, or *Impositions of any Sort upon the Realm*, but a great Part, *viz. 468,000*l**, from the Money paid by the *States General*, which was due to *Queen Elizabeth*, and from other Methods; And this Sum was obtain'd by *King James* within his *first fourteen Years*, not *sixteen*, which is the time you have mention'd;—Besides which the Amount of the other *ordinary Revenues of the Crown at that time*, are there particularly specify'd to be *439,863*l. per Annum**, after deducting the *Defalcations*;—All which, except *160,000*l.** for the *Customs*, you have suppress'd, in your great *Zeal and Tendernefs* for this Monarch.

But indeed to be sometimes in the Right, and sometimes mistaken, is the Fate of common Writers; and from hence they frequently run into Contradictions;

traditions, But yours, Sir, is the peculiar Privilege, to be constantly in the Wrong, and yet continually to oppose your own Assertions.

Another Instance of your conquering your self, appears in the very next Reign of King Charles I; upon which you venture to assert Page the 54th, that including the *Ship-Money* of 800,000 l. alone, and all the *Subsidys*, “ It appears that in the first
 “ FIFTEEN YEARS and AN HALF of King Charles’s
 “ Reign, (before the Meeting of the fatal Parliament
 “ of November, 1640) ALL THE MONEY RAIS’D
 “ OUT OF THE KINGDOM IN GENERAL FOR THE
 “ SERVICE OF THE CROWN WAS 1,290,000 l.
 “ i. e. about 86,000 l. a Year.

And yet within a few Pages after you assert, that the *ordinary Revenue* of this King was almost *nine hundred thousand Pounds per Annum*, over and above the *Ship-Money* and *Subsidys*;—This you have positively declar’d in your 66th Page; where you speak concerning the Act of *Indemnity* and *Oblivion* which was pass’d at the Restoration, and the great Sums which King Charles the 1st thereby remitted, in the following Words; “ *The Arrears of these,*
 “ *and other Parts of his Revenue, given up in that*
 “ *Act, amounted in the Course of so many Years, (ac-*
 “ *cording to the Estimate made of King Charles the 1sts*
 “ *Revenue, which descended to his Son, in Sir He-*
 “ *neage Finch’s Report, from the Committee ap-*
 “ *pointed to enquire into it by this Parliament, as it*
 “ *appears on the Journal of September the 4th) to*
 “ *above TWELVE MILLIONS STERLING.*”

This Report of Sir Heneage Finch stands thus in the Journals of the House of Commons.

Martis Die 4. Septembris, 1660.

“ Sir Heneage Finch reports from the Committee,
 “ to whom it was referr’d to consider of a Reve-
 “ nue to be settled on the King’s Majesty, and

“ the State of the *late King's* Revenue, an Estimate
 “ for the present Revenue of his Majesty, and se-
 “ veral Resolves of the said Committee; That is
 “ to say, That according to the best Information
 “ the Committee could receive from the Officers
 “ heretofore employ'd about the Revenue, the To-
 “ tal of the Revenue which came unto his *late*
 “ Majesty, amounted from the Year 1637 to the
 “ Year 1641 inclusive, *communibus Annis*, unto
 “ 895,819 *l. 5 s. 11 d*; Whereof 210,493 *l. 17 s. 4 d.*
 “ did arise by Payments, partly not warranted by
 “ Law, and partly expir'd; and the Expences of
 “ his late Majesty's Government did amount *com-*
 “ *municibus Annis*, to about 200,000 *l.* a Year above
 “ the Receipt; In which Computation the In-
 “ comes arising by *Ship-Money* are not compre-
 “ hended.”

So that after you have declar'd that “ *All the*
 “ *Money rais'd out of the Kingdom in General for*
 “ *the Service of the Crown in the first fifteen Years*
 “ *and an half of Charles the 1st, including SHIP-*
 “ *MONEY, and SUBSIDYS, was only about 86,000 l.*
 “ *per Annum;*” You immediately declare again
 from this Report, that his *ordinary Revenue* only
 was almost 900,000 *l. per Annum*, Besides several
Subsidys which were granted to him, and *Ship-*
Money.

This is such intolerable Work, as places you
 beneath all other Scribblers; And as it is easy to
 discern the narrow *Bounds* of your Capacity, and
 your perpetual *Biafs*, I shall here explain how you
 fell into this gross Contradiction;—Your *Point* at
 first was to *diminish* the Revenues of *Charles 1st*, in
 order to shew how little expensive the Crown
then was, and to cast an odium thereby upon the
Reigns after the Revolution;—But unfortunately
 within a few Pages after, you had a fancy to make
 a Panc-

a Panegyrick upon *Charles the 1st*. for his great *Generosity in refusing Money from his People*; A new Topic of yours, which was never suggested by other *Historians*;—In order therefore, to represent the *Munificence* of this Monarch, as large as possible, (in remitting a Sum which he could never receive) your *Point* here was to exhibit the full *Révenues* of *Charles the 1st*, which you happen'd to meet with in this Journal; And thus your last *Eagerness* for exalting the *Generosity* of the Son, has detected your former *Passion* for diminishing the *Revenues* of his *Father*;—Such wretched Scrapes are you drawn into by this *Zeal*, which you have, for *deceas'd Princes*, without any *Knowledge*.

We arrive next at your 58th Page, where you thus descant upon the *Bystander's* Account of the Receipts of the Crown from the 29th of *May* 1660 to the *Christmas* following; The *Bystander* says Page the 64th, “*That after the Grant of the Poll-Tax, the Sum of 140,000^l. was deem'd sufficient for the COMPLEAT disbanding the WHOLE Army, and paying the Navy. See here O! Reader, if thou canst without Indignation, a true Specimen of the BYSTANDER's unparallel'd Assurance and natural Veracity; He had the very Titles of the Acts to which he refers thee, before him, when he scored the Words COMPLEAT and WHOLE, to have them distinguish'd by Italic Characters; and yet has express'd himself so, as to deceive thee into a Belief, that the whole Fleet was to be paid off likewise; Whereas the Title of that Act, (12 Car. II. Cap. 20.) after the Words WHOLE ARMY, adds and paying PART of the Navy.*”

You have here, Sir, deliver'd your Blows with prodigious Vigour; But suppose, after all this Fury of yours, we should now fairly exhibit the Titles of the Acts themselves, which stand as follows.

1. " *An Act for the speedy Provision of Money for disbanding and paying the Forces both by Sea and Land.*"

This was the Poll-Tax.

2. " *An Act for the speedy raising of 140,000l. for the COMPLEAT disbanding of the WHOLE Army, and paying of some Part of the Navy.*"

3. " *An Act for granting his Majesty 420,000l. for disbanding the REMAINDER of the Army, and paying the Navy.*"

These are the real Titles of the Acts, as they are publish'd in the *Statutes*, and quoted by the *Bystander*;—And it is plain to every Gentleman, that after a Sum had been settled and given for the compleat disbanding of the *whole* Army, there was immediately after a large Sum more given for disbanding the *Remainder* of the Army.

But, say you, the *Bystander* has scor'd the Words COMPLEAT and WHOLE, so as to deceive thee into a Belief that the WHOLE Fleet was to be paid off likewise; This scoring then is what you ground your Abuse upon; And it happens to turn out directly against you; For the *Bystander*, by scoring the Words *compleat* and *whole*, which are annex'd to the *Army* only, plainly confines his Remark there; especially as he does not score the *Navy*, or any Word belonging to it;—Besides as he fairly recites the Titles of the Acts, it is plain he could neither intend, nor be capable, to deceive the Reader;—Though this little Practice is here pursu'd by your self, in suppressing the real Titles of the Acts, whereby the Contradiction would have appeared obviously; When at the same time you falsely assert, that you deliver them as they are stated by the *Bystander*;—But your want of all Candour is such, that you cannot endure to make any fair Quotation.

You

You go on in the same Page, the 58th, concerning the discharging of these Forces at the Restoration; And are there pleas'd to assert, that
 “ *The House of Commons had taken that Affair into*
 “ *their Consideration, before the KING had left Hol-*
 “ *land; and carried it on after he came to England,*
 “ *without any Interposition of HIS, by Speech, Message,*
 “ *or otherwise.*”

It is very extraordinary, that you should make such Assertions, which have no Use or Tendency to promote any Purpose of your Work, unless it be the general Scheme of Falsity; Is it possible to imagine that the *King* should be indifferent to a Business of such Consequence, as the Discharge of the old *Republican Army*? And when he continually interfer'd in Matters of less Consequence, that he should never once mention THIS, by *Speech, Message, or otherwise*? Which is what you assert;—Whereas the Journals of the House of Commons of the *ninth and thirty first of August 1660*, expressly declare two *Messages* from his Majesty deliver'd to the House on these Days, both urging the Provision of the Supplis for discharging the Forces;—It appears likewise in Sir *William Doyley's* Report upon the Army, entred in the Journals of the 23d of *November 1660*, that his Majesty had interpos'd in this Affair, by his *Letter* to the City of *London* on the 20th of *October*, encouraging the Loan of 100,000 *l.* upon the Act for the two Months Assessment; and engaging his Royal Word for the Repayment of it out of the first Money produced by that Act;—Besides these Instances of his Majesty's interfering in this Affair by *Message* and *Letter*; He likewise particularly mentions his Concern in the Discharge of the Forces in his two *Speeches* of the 29th of *August*, and the 13th of *September 1660*, to the two Houses; And yet, Sir, you have been pleas'd to assert, that he
 never

never interpos'd in this Business, so much as by *Speech, Message, or otherwise.*

After this you immediately plunge yourself successively into a *Conference* between the two Houses, and into several *Reports* from different Committees, upon the State of the Debts of the Army and Navy; This *Conference*, and the *Reports*, though they all relate to different Circumstances, either from the different Periods of time, at which they were form'd; or from the greater Extent and Comprehension of some, than others; You have confounded together in a Manner utterly unintelligible; Thus for Instance, the Charge of the Navy at 40,000*l.* per Month, mention'd at the *Conference*, included the monthly Wages of all the Ships, as well in, as out of, Harbour; Sir *William Doyley's* Reports relate only to the Army, and a particular limited part of the Navy lying in Harbour, which was then order'd to be discharg'd; And Sir *Thomas Clarges's* Report comprehended all the Debts of the Army and Navy, as well those under Consideration to be then discharg'd, as other old Debts and Demands;—Without which Circumstances being premis'd, which you have thought fit to omit, it is impossible to understand what they respectively contain.

The last Report, which was deliver'd to the Convention Parliament from the Commissioners for disbanding the Forces, was on *December* the 3d, 1660, which shews how this Affair stood at that time, and what Balance was due to compleat it; your Account of which Report begins thus in your own Words, Page 63d.

“ *The Nation's Charge was increasing by every Day, as well in paying of the 24 Ships still left in Harbour at Wages, though useles, (which cost 16,000*l.* a Month, as Mr. Hollis had reported on August the 2d) as in disbanding the Army, to*
 “ *which*

“ *which by Sir William Doyley's last Report of December the 3d, there was still due an Arrear of*
 “ *287,624l. 17s. 10d.*

It is somewhat extraordinary, Sir, that you should mention *twenty four* Ships, to be *lying useless in Harbour at Wages* on *December the 3d*, when there were only left *eighteen* on the *23d of November* before;—For the whole Number at first, which lay useless in Harbour at Wages, was only *twenty five*; as you have mention'd yourself in the Message (as you call it) from the Lords, and is express'd in the Instructions to the Commissioners for discharging the Forces; Out of these *twenty five* Ships, Sir *William Doyley* reported on *November the 6th* that *six* were discharged, as appears likewise in your own Account of this Report; Again on *November the 23d*, Sir *William Doyley* in another Report mentions, that *one* Ship more was discharg'd; This you also have quoted yourself, so that there was then only *eighteen* of these Ships left undischarg'd; which continued so on *December the 3d* following, And is particularly mention'd in Sir *William Doyley's* Report on this Day;—It is therefore a little surprizing upon us, to observe you here calling these *eighteen* Ships *twenty four*; And I must be excus'd, if upon this Occasion I recollect Sir *John Falstaff's* Account of the *Rogues* he engag'd with; And humbly apprehend, Sir, that *six* of your said *twenty four* Ships were only in *Buckram*.

After this you drive back again in your 64th Page, and say these Ships, which you have just call'd *twenty four*, were only *nineteen*; For, say you, “ *Whoever considers that by Sir William Doyley's Report of November the 6th, there was on*
 “ *September the 17th an Arrear due to the NINE-*
 “ *TEEN Ships to be paid off, of 138,132l. 10s.*
 “ *that two Months Pay and a half to December*
 H

“ the 1st, amounted at least to 25,000 l, &c.—In which you are plainly representing *nineteen* Ships to be continu’d in Pay to *December* the 1st, which you have, in the foregoing Page, represented to be *twenty four*, and which were in reality only *eigh-teen*;—This Method of *diminishing* again from *twenty four* to *nineteen* is purely your own; Sir *John Falstaff* in his Numbers being always upon the *Advance*, and wanting this happy Moderation.

As to Mr. *Hollis*’s Report of the Charge of the Ships, which were in Harbour on *August* the 2^d, which you have brought in to Sir *William Doyley*’s Report of *December* the 3^d, I shall not trouble myself any further about it, than just to observe That if you intended it to *clarify* your Account, it has, instead of this, only contributed to make the whole MIXTURE the darker.

You declare likewise in your foregoing Account of Sir *William Doyley*’s Report of *December* the 3^d, that there appear’d then an Arrear to be due to the Army of 287,624 l. 17 s; Whereas this Arrear was due to the *Army*, and to the *eighteen Ships* together;—And this Sum you would leave as the Balance of the Account, besides the odd Articles, and the growing Charge of 1100 l. *per Diem*; Whereas besides these odd Articles, and this growing Charge, the Balance requisite to be further provided, was only 224,603 l. 2 s. 10 d, as appears expressly in this Report;—To supply which, as is likewise mention’d in this Report, there appear’d 26,384 l. 11 s. 2 d. to be paid by Sir *Thomas Player*, (which according to your usual *Veracity* you have thought fit to omit) And the *Arrears* of the two *Assessments*, and the rest of the Produce of the *Poll-Bill*, which was order’d to be collected by a new *Act*; To which there was also added an additional *Grant* of 420,000 l, as a Provision not only for these

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Purposes, for which it was much too ample, but likewise for defraying the Expence of the *Fleet*, then in his Majesty's Pay for the usual Guard; As appears by the Speaker's Speech to the King on the 29th of *December* 1660; And is very particularly specify'd in the last Instructions to the Commissioners for discharging the Navy;—So that it is particularly to be remember'd, that the Supplies granted by the Convention Parliament in 1660, for paying the Forces by Sea and Land, were very abundant.

You assert next, Page the 67th, that, "*The Commons having resolv'd on November 21st to settle a MOIETY of the HEREDITARY Excise on the King in lieu of Tenures and the Court of Wards, it was mov'd that the other MOIETY should be towards the 1,200,000l; but the Motion was rejected; The House however thought better of it six Days after, on November the 27th, and then agreed that it should be so apply'd;*" This, Sir, is false; It was never resolv'd that *one Moiety* of the *Hereditary Excise* should be settled upon the King in lieu of the *Court of Wards*; It is indeed absolute Nonsense; The Truth was, that *one Moiety* of the *Common-wealth Excise*, upon *Beer, Ale, Cyder* and *Spirits* was settled for ever upon the Crown in lieu of the *Hereditary Income* from the *Court of Wards*; and from hence this Branch of the Excise is called the *Hereditary Excise*; The other *Moiety* of this *Common-wealth Excise*, was granted to the King, during the *Time* of his Life; as it has been to all his Successors during the *Times* of their Lives; And from hence this Branch is called the *Temporary Excise*;—But you are so totally ignorant in all Branches of Business, that after your Absurditys are thus pointed out, I can only expect that you will be the more perplex'd.

It may be further observ'd, that you have asserted in Page the 73d, That, "*the whole Hereditary Excise, was given to make up the 1,200,000l. per Annum, but nothing NEW else, except the Post-Office, and Wine-Licences;*" Wherein you absolutely suppress the whole *Temporary Excise*, and the *Additional Duty* upon *Wines, Tobacco, Linens, and wrought Silks*, which was granted by this Convention Parliament, to make up that Revenue; over and above the *Subsidy of Tonnage and Poundage*;—Which last was likewise in a great Measure a *new Duty*; As it was considerably different from what was granted to his Father, by the *new Advancement of the RATES* in 1660, upon almost all Foreign Commodities.

It might naturally have been expected, after your Attempts to *aggravate* the Expence of discharging the Forces, and to *diminish* the Sums which were granted to King Charles for this Purpose, that you would have been contented at last, and sat easy; But you are still restless, and resolv'd to incumber him with no less a Debt, than *two Millions Sterling*;—It has already been shewn, what an ample Provision was made by the Convention Parliament for satisfying the Demands of the Forces by Sea and Land; But your *Skill* in involving him in so monstrous a Debt, notwithstanding all these Supplys, is undoubtedly the greater;—I shall therefore, as it is a matter of much *Artifice*, exhibit the Particulars you have loaded him with, in order to make up this Debt; And must confess that I was puzzled at first, in seeking from whence they were obtain'd; Till I perceiv'd, you had taken them, as *Diego* directed his Legacies to be taken, *wherever you could find them*;—This may be a little surprising to some Gentlemen, but for my own part, I entirely admire your happy Imagination upon all these

these Occasions; and think you was very moderate, when you fell into *this Method*, in stopping at only *two Millions*.

—The first Article of this Sum is 378,269*l.* 10*s.* of which you deliver an Account in your Appendix N^o 2; This you charge, Page the 68th, as an heavy Debt upon the *Crown*; Though no less than 242,000*l.* of it was disbursed in Presents to the *King*, and *Royal Family*, and for the Furniture and other Occasions of the *King's Houses*; The rest of it likewise consists of Gifts to the *King's Friends*, (bestow'd by *his Influence*, and which exempted him from the Expence of rewarding them,) and of some few Orders besides; Amongst which *to the Children of Henry Elsing*, 500 *l.* which you have thought fit to charge at 5000*l.* in order to increase the Total.

Another Article of your Sum of *two Millions*, is, 75,010*l.* 13*s.* 5*d.* to the distress'd *Protestants of Piedmont*; This I can assure the Public, is only instead of 5978*l.* 8*s.* 9*d.*; And you have very ingeniously obtain'd it, by adding together several Particulars included in the above-mention'd Sum of 387,269*l.* 10*s.*; And have thus charged them doubly;—For this Sum of 75,010*l.* 13*s.* 5*d.* $\frac{1}{2}$ is the Total of “*An Account of several Sums of Money charg'd upon the Receipt of Excise since the sitting of the seclused Members, and by the present Parliament, which remain unpaid the 7th Day of December 1660,*” as it was laid before the Convention Parliament, as follows.

To

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
To the distress'd Protestants of } <i>Piedmont and Poland</i>	5,978	8	9
To Sir <i>Richard Brown</i>	2,663	16	9
* To the Duke of <i>York</i>	10,000	00	00
* To the Executors of the late } Duke of <i>Gloucester</i>	7,000	00	00
* To the Princess Royal	10,000	00	00
* To Mr. <i>Denham</i> his Majesty's } Surveyor	5,000	00	00
* To her Majesty the Queen of } <i>Bohemia</i>	10,000	00	00
* To her Highness the Princess } <i>Henrietta Maria</i>	10,000	00	00
* To <i>Henry Peck</i>	3,443	12	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
* To Col. <i>Anthony Butler</i>	3,436	16	10
* To Sir <i>Thomas Dacres</i>	250	00	00
To Sir <i>Rowland Langhorn</i>	3,000	00	00
* To <i>Thomas Loddington</i> for Pro- } visions for <i>Dunkirk</i>	3,450	00	00
* To <i>Henry Symball</i> by Warrant } of the Council of State	1,387	18	10
<hr/>			
Total	75,010	13	5 $\frac{1}{2}$

All the Particulars to which an *Asterisk* is prefix'd, are inserted in your *Appendix N^o 2*, as any Gentleman may prove to himself, by referring to it; so that you have *before* charg'd them in the Sum of 387,269*l.* 10*s.*, which is the Total of that *Appendix*, and have here charg'd them *again*, within eight Lines after, with great *Intrepidity*.

You mention likewise, in order to make up this Debt of two MILLIONS, *Assignments on the Exchequer between A. D. 1653, and March the 1st 1660, to the amount of 477,151*l.* 10*s.**; The Particulars of this Article I have not been able to trace, and there-

therefore I shall not pretend to determine, whether you have obtain'd it by the former Method of *Addition*, or by what other ingenious *Artifice*.

Another Article, which you deliver of this Debt, arises, as you say, from certain *Assignments* upon the *Exchequer* to the amount of 95,000*l*; This is as notable an *Item* as any of the former;—For it was set aside by this Parliament, and never paid afterwards;—However you was determin'd not to part with it so; But soften the matter, by saying it was a Debt *which they thought fit to suspend for a time*; And again, that, it was a Debt *utterly unprovided for*;—You have however e'en join'd it to the rest, in order to increase the Bundle.

After this you produce the Sum of 673,720*l*. 8*s*. 9*d*. for Stores and Wages of the Navy; “*For which*,” you say, “*no Fund had been provided*,” Whereas the first Article of this Sum amounting to 128,030*l*. was due for the Wages of the Officers and Mariners of the Remainder of the *twenty five Ships* lying in Harbour, and was at first particularly provided for out of the *Poll-Bill* and the *Assessments*, under the Management of the Commissioners for disbanding the Forces;—And no part of the rest of this Debt, was ever charg'd upon, or paid out of any other Funds.

To these you add likewise the Sum of 35,110*l*. 19*s*. 6*d*. making up together a Debt (as you call it) of 1,743,263*l*. 1*s*. 8*d*. $\frac{1}{2}$; Which falling short of *two Millions*, in order to compleat this Sum, you throw into it 200,000*l*. for renewing the Stores and Necessaries of the Fleet; Though this was a part of the current Services, continually requisite to be provided for;—However you resolv'd to state it as a Debt; And thus rais'd up the whole to about *two Millions Sterling*, which you say the King was left incumber'd with by the Convention
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Parliament at Christmas 1660;—Though neither the Hereditary nor Temporary Excise, the Customs, Wine-Licences, Post-Office, nor any other Branch of his Revenue, nor any other Dutys, or Sums, granted after this time, were ever chargeable with, or paid, any Part of it;—But it is indeed ridiculous to urge any thing seriously in regard to this Debt upon the King, which already is shewn to be absolutely chimerical.

Your *Imagination* however is so strong upon this Subject, that you deplore King *Charles's* Misfortunes Page the 89th, “loaded” as you say, “with
“ an immense Debt of two Millions, without any Fund
“ assign’d or given to discharge it; And utterly desti-
“ tute of every Thing but Credit, to raise Money for
“ public Services of the greatest Importance, and the
“ most absolutely necessary to be provided for immedi-
“ ately; Such were the disbanding the greatest Part
“ of the Irish Army, and the paying of above 100
“ Ships of the Navy, which he found here in Pay,
“ (besides the twenty five which were lying in Har-
“ bour, whose Pay had been provided for by Parlia-
“ ment;) And on these Accounts he stretch’d his Cre-
“ dit so far, as made him uneasy all the rest of his
“ Life, nor could any Alienation of the Crown-Lands,
“ or the Sale of the Fee-Farm-Rents, ever extricate
“ him out of the Debt, in which he was involv’d
“ upon this Occasion.”

It appears from hence, that you are not contented with loading the King with this Debt of two Millions, but have likewise burden’d him with a further Charge for disbanding the Army in Ireland, and above 100 Ships of War, which you say he found in Pay at his Restoration;—The Army in Ireland, I shall consider presently;—And as to the Expence upon the King which you have here assign’d for the Ships of War, it is absolutely without Foundation; For it appears by the Instructions to the
Com-

Commissioners, for discharging and paying off the Army and Navy, and other Debts relating thereto, That after the Discharge of the Remainder of the Army, and of the twenty five Ships in Harbour at Wages, they were next to discharge the sixty five Ships then out of Employment, and afterwards the thirty six Ships then in his Majesty's Service, with all other just Arrears whatever;—In Consequence of which Colonel Birch reported to the next Parliament on July 11th 1661, That the Army, the twenty five Ships, the sixty five Ships and twenty six of the thirty six Ships were in effect all paid off; And that only ten Ships, the residue of the thirty six, remain'd unpaid;—To answer which Service he reported several Arrears of the Assessments and Poll-Money then due, which were immediately order'd to be called in from the several Countys;—So that all this Incumbrance upon the King from your hundred Ships of the Navy entirely vanishes.

After you have thus attempted to load King Charles with a heavy Debt of two Millions, together with the Burden of paying one hundred Ships of the Navy, and both without any Provocation, you might at length have been easy, and have permitted him to have enjoy'd his future Revenues in quiet; But it seems you are still dissatisfy'd, and resolv'd to incumber him further; For which Purpose you have diminished his annual Income after the Restoration below the Amount of the necessary Services; And thus added to these old Debts a great Heap of subsequent Deficiencies;—In what manner you have display'd your Skill in forming the Debt of two Millions has been already explain'd; and your Conduct has been equally notable in diminishing his annual Receipts, and augmenting his Disbursements; In which you discover a Facility in ordering Figures,

I

which

which will be very surprizing to all other Accountants.

To explain your exquisite Art in this *Adventure* of the *Deficiencys*, it is proper to observe again that the three Articles which constituted the greatest part of your Debt of *two Millions*, were 387,269*l.* 10*s.* 637,720*l.* 8*s.* 9*d.* and 200,000*l.* as hath already appear'd; and you declare Page the 123*d.* that "*The Deficiencys of his Majesty's Revenue for the three Years 1661, 1662 and 1663 amount to two Millions, one hundred eighty two thousand eight hundred fifty two Pounds, eight Shillings and nine Pence; BESIDES the vast Loads of old Debts in Rump-Times charg'd on the Revenue by the Convention Parliament, the last Day of their sitting as mentioned before;*" So that you represent these *Deficiencys* to have happened, over and above the old Debt of *two Millions*.

And yet, I find in Pages 78, 109 and 112 of your Book, the three Articles above-mentioned to be introduc'd in order to make up your *Deficiencys*, although you had before order'd them to make up the *Debt*, which, you say, subsisted *besides these Deficiencys*;—This is absolutely *new* in the Management of *Accounts*; which you order to any particular Service, like a numerous Body of *disciplin'd Troops*, where having made their Attack, you immediately command them upon a *second Expedition*, and so on, till they have conquer'd all the Places, you choose to possess;—Upon this Occasion I must observe to your Honour, that though *political Arithmetic* has been formerly discovered, yet you are indisputably the Inventor of this new Method, which may not improperly be call'd *polemical Arithmetic*; After you had discover'd which Art, I wonder you should complain, as you do in several Parts of your Book, that Accounts were *irksome* and *dry* to you; since you were thus capable
of

of carrying any Point that you pleas'd in *Figures*, with all *imaginable* Facility.

However it appears, that your Genius is so extensive as not to be restrain'd to any one Method; For though it must undeniably be granted, that by your Art of assigning the same Sums to several different Purposes, you are able to fix any Total you please, upon any Occasion, yet you scorn to bring out the *Deficiencies* entirely in this manner; but have made use of another admirable Contrivance in Accounts;—This is to *diminish the produce of any Dutys, when they are charg'd to the RECEIPTS; and to allow their whole amount when they are charg'd to the DISBURSEMENTS*; Thus for Instance, the whole produce of the *Poll-Bill*, and of the *Assessments* for two Months, and four Months, which the *By-stander* had charg'd, both in the *Receipts* and *Disbursements* to be 1,560,000*l.* you state Page the 76th amongst other Articles, only at 720,000*l.* in the *Receipts*, and yet allow it to be 1,560,000*l.* in the *Disbursements*;—This may possibly be thought ridiculous by many Gentlemen, but if the old Proverb says right, *Let those laugh that win*, I am sure you have the greatest cause to be merry; For by this Piece of Management, you have added no less than 800,000*l.* to the Sum of your *Deficiencies*.

These *Contrivances* of yours in order to bring out *Debts* and *Deficiencies*, I presume, will abundantly satisfy every Gentleman of your *Skill* in *Figures*; But not contented with all these Articles at *Home*, you have travell'd into *Ireland* to bring over Incumbrances from thence upon King *Charles's* Revenues; This you have already intimated in the Case of the *Irish* Array; And you have not scrupled to do it more explicitly in your 109th Page, which affords a most shocking Instance of your *Veracity* in the following Words; “ *I must observe that*

“ Ireland was in a very distracted Condition, when
 “ the Parliament after providing for the Settlement of
 “ the Kingdom by the Act of Explanation, laid several
 “ Taxes for the Support of the Government; Till
 “ then Ireland was a CONSTANT heavy Burden on
 “ King Charles, as it was an OCCASIONAL one afterwards;
 “ He found there at his Restoration an
 “ Army of Sectarys and Fanatics, which in the Situation
 “ of that Kingdom it was absolutely necessary to
 “ pay off, and disband as soon as possible; That Work,
 “ and the providing for the Peace and Safety of that
 “ Realm, during its Confusions, till the Settlement
 “ was made, cost the King (as I have good reason to
 “ think) above 400,000 l. in the two first Years, and
 “ 100,000 l. a Year for three Years afterwards, till
 “ the Supplies were granted in the beginning of 1666.”

You here represent the Supplies in Ireland not to
 be granted till 1666, whereas in your *Life of the
 Duke of Ormond, Vol. II. Page 274*, you declare
 that by the beginning of the Year 1662, “ The
 “ Commons of Ireland had not only made a Grant of
 “ twelve Subsidys to his Majesty, but had presented
 “ to the Council a Bill for establishing the Excise or
 “ new Impost;” Besides the ordinary Revenue of
 the Customs;

You likewise are not ashamed to assert in the
 foregoing Paragraph, that until the beginning of
 the Year 1666, Ireland was a constant heavy Burden
 upon King Charles of 400,000 l. for the two first
 Years, and of 100,000 l. per Annum for three Years
 afterwards;—Whereas you expressly declare the
 contrary, Page 250, of the same Volume of the
Life of the Duke of Ormond; And that his Grace,
 “ after he came over Lord Lieutenant (in 1661) find-
 “ ing that the standing Revenue of the Kingdom, ac-
 “ cording to an exact Calculation, did not amount by
 “ 42,000 l. to answer the Charge of the Civil and
 “ Military Lists, propos’d to some Members of the
 “ House

“ *House of Commons, that the Deficiency might be made up by a Tax upon Chimneys and Hearths, according to the Precedent lately set in England; This produc’d, on August the 8th, a Motion in that House for a Bill to settle the Hearth-Money, as a standing Revenue of the Crown in lieu of the Court of Wards; The Motion was approv’d unanimously, and that Tax being settled, the Court of Wards was afterwards suppress’d.*”

So that it appear’d, as you affirm, upon an exact Calculation in 1661, That the standing Revenue of *Ireland* wanted no more than 42,000*l.* per *Annum* to answer the Charge of the *Civil* and *Military* Lists; And this small Deficiency was immediately made up for the future by this *Tax upon Chimneys*;—Besides which, there had been granted, as you declare yourself, no less than twelve extraordinary *Aids*, or *Subsidys*;—And yet you have the Confidence to assert in your full Answer, “*That Ireland was a constant heavy Burden upon King Charles of no less (as you have good reason to think) than 400,000*l.* per Annum for the first two Years, and of 100,000*l.* per Annum for the succeeding THREE YEARS after the Restoration;*”—And in your Account of the *Disbursements* for the Year 1661, Page the 109th, you actually charge this Sum of 400,000*l.* for his Majestys *Expences* in *Ireland* that Year; And 100,000*l.* per *Annum* for his *Disbursements* in that Kingdom in the Years subsequent.

If you should still offer to insist, that although the Revenue of *Ireland* might answer the *Civil* and *Military* Establishments, after the *Army* there was disbanded, yet the *Expence* of *disbanding* the *Army* was a heavy Burden upon the King, I again refer to the second Volume of your *Life of the Duke of Ormond*, Page 259, where you declare, that until Money came into the Exchequer by the Bills lately

lately pass'd for this Purpose of discharging the Forces, "*His Grace was forc'd to advance, out of his own Purse, the Sums that were necessary for a Work which admitted of no Delay.*"

Thus it appears from your *Life of the Duke of Ormond*, that the King was at *no* Expence in disbanding the Army in *Ireland*, contrary to what you have often asserted in your *full Answer*;—But though this be a proper Confutation of *yourself*, I must observe, it is very probable, that the whole Expence was at first supply'd out of the *Irish Exchequer*; The *Duke of Ormond* from your own Representation of his continual Necessitys, being very unlikely to advance Money for this Purpose;—However the DISBANDING of the ARMY in *Ireland*, was such an excellent Subject, that though in your *Life of the Duke of Ormond* you had seated his GRACE upon it, yet in your *full Answer* you likewise *toss up* the KING into the Saddle;—Observing, as I presume, the admirable *Strength* of this Topic, and that, like an *able Horse*, it could easily carry double.

The Truth is,—*Ireland* was so far from being a constant heavy Incumbrance on King *Charles* till 1666, and an occasional one afterwards, as you expressly assert, that it was *not any Burden at all* under his Reign; But on the contrary he took very large Sums, for private Purposes of his own, by Warrants which he granted upon the *Exchequer* of that Kingdom;—Besides this, towards the middle of his Reign, as you assert, Page the 472d of your second Volume of the *Life of the Duke of Ormond*, "*The (Irish) Revenue held out to support not only a new Increase of the Military List, but also the two new Establishments, made after his Grace took on him the Government of 36,000 l. for Shipping to secure the Coasts of Ireland, and*" 44,000 l,

“ 44,000*l*, for Tangier; But it was too hard loaded,
 “ when this Article was rais’d to 61,000*l*, And
 “ Dunbarton’s Regiment being call’d out of Foreign
 “ Service was sent into that Kingdom; which swal-
 “ low’d up all the Money that had been reserv’d for
 “ Contingencys.”—So that Ireland maintain’d the
 Guard-Ships upon its own Coasts; And besides this
 Assistance to the King in the Charge of the Navy,
 actually bore the greatest Part, if not the whole,
 of the Expence of Tangier; Though you, Sir,
 after writing this, have the Assurance to declare Page
 the 159th, and in other Parts of your full Answer,
 that the Expence of this Garrison, from 1662 to
 1684, was entirely born by the English Exchequer.

Another Incumbrance of yours, upon King
 Charles’s Revenue, you mention Page 111, in your
 Account of the Disbursements for the Year 1661,
 in these Words, “ To the Duke of York (as far as
 “ I can judge) about 70,000*l*, a Year, though it was
 “ increas’d much afterwards by the Improvement of
 “ the Revenue of the Post-Office; now a Year and
 “ eight Months to the Duke of York for his Reve-
 “ nue; (viz. from the Restoration to Christmas 1661)
 “ comes to 116,668*l*. 6*s*. 8*d*;”—This is all an
 absolute Falsity;—The Grant to the Duke of
 York, of the Profits of the Post-Office and Wine-
 Licences, did not commence till about August 1663;
 And it was particularly provided, in the Act for this
 Purpose, that it should not prejudice a Grant before
 made to Daniel Oneale, Esq; of the Office of
 Post-master for four Years and a quarter from Lady-
 Day 1663, at the Rent of 21,500*l*, per Annum;—
 So that though the Duke of York, obtain’d not
 these Revenues, till the middle of the Year 1663,
 you have here charg’d them to his Account, and
 as an Incumbrance upon the King, from the begin-
 ning of May 1660.

And

And though it appears that the *Post-Office*, was leas'd out from 1663 till 1667 at 21,500*l.* *per Annum*, and the *Wine-Licences* produc'd only about 7000*l.* *per Annum* neat, you have computed their amount at 70,000*l.* *per Annum*, in order to increase your *Burden* upon his Majesty's Revenue, and heap up a romantic mount of *Deficiencys*.

Whereas, if you had possess'd any tolerable understanding, you would have known that any *voluntary Alienations*, or *Gifts*, which his Majesty might make of his Revenue, are not justly to be represented to the Public as *Deficiencys*; For at this Rate the King might give or alienate the whole, and continually demand a *new Civil List Revenue* from his People.

After this chimerical *Incumbrance* on King Charles in 1661, by the Revenue of the Duke of York, which did not commence till 1663, you go on giving a loose to your Imagination, and ranging about for any other Sums, which you can find, to deduct from this King's Income; And proceed thus, Page the 111th, in augmenting the *Deficiencys*; "There is however another Article, which must not be omitted, because it was a part of the public Service absolutely necessary, though left unprovided for by the last Parliament, after it had been reported to the House by a special Committee on November the 12th 1660, that the Stores were empty both of *Viſtuals* and *Necessaries* for the Fleet; and the renewing them will cost 200,000*l.*; This was a Point which admitted of no Delay; King Charles was forc'd to borrow Money, and engage his Credit to supply the Stores, &c.

Your Method of doubly charging this Sum of 200,000*l.* for Stores, first to the *Debts*, and afterwards to the *Deficiencys*, hath been already remark'd; —What I would observe in this place, is the happy *Vigour* of your *restless* Imagination, which
has

has expedited these Stores in 1661, notwithstanding they were neglected by King Charles till 1663; For Mr. Coke in his *Detection*, Page 140, says, King Charles in the dead of the Winter of 1663, sent “ Sir John Harman to Gottenburg with a Squadron of Men of War for Masts, Pitch and Tar; And all agreed that if the King had not been supply’d with Naval Stores by this Fleet, he could not have fitted out a Fleet the next Year;”—So that all your Account of the immediate Supply of these Stores in 1661, as, “ a Point which admitted of no Delay, &c.” is only the hurry of your own Fancy.

Amongst your other Incumbrances upon King Charles’s Revenue, you add, Page the 123d, “ The constant Charge of the Mint, which, say you, lay upon the Crown all the Reign of King Charles, but is since the Revolution born by the Nation at the yearly Expence of 15,000*l.* a Year; And others that might be reckon’d were there any occasion;”—This is absolutely false; The Coinage Duty, as it is commonly call’d, or the Duty of 10 Shillings per Ton upon all Wines, Cyder, and Beer, imported, and 20 Shillings per Ton upon all Spirits was granted to King Charles the 1^{ld}. from the 20th of December 1666, for defraying the Expences of the Mint, and continu’d during his Reign; And has been since granted for the same Purposes, during the Reigns of his Successors; Although you have here thought fit to charge the Mint, as an Incumbrance upon the Crown, all the Reign of King Charles the 1^{ld}. and before the Revolution, and as a particular Incumbrance upon the Nation, since that time;—But you are so utterly unacquainted with all Business, that there is no End of confuting your Blunders and Incumbrances; Especially as you most ridiculously add in the foregoing Passage, that you have still “ others which might be reckon’d were there any Occasion”.

I have already examin'd several of your particular Charges against the *Bystander*; one of the most important of these, which I have not yet consider'd, appears in your 97th Page in the following Words; "*The Bystander computes the Ordinary of the Navy and Ordnance at 40,000 l. a Year, grounding his Estimate upon King Charles's Promise in 1678 to the Parliament, that if they would settle an additional Revenue upon him, he would allot FIFTY THOUSAND POUNDS per Annum for the future to this Service; whence he presumes that before that time it had not cost so much; Monstrous Mistake! To give it no worse Name; let him read with Confusion the Commons Journal of June 1678; He will there find his Majesty said he would settle FIVE HUNDRED THOUSAND POUNDS per Annum to the constant Maintenance of the Navy and Ordnance*".

I ask you, Sir, in this place, whether the *Bystander* has declar'd, or suppos'd, in any of his Computations, that the *whole* Maintenance and Expence of the Navy and Ordnance in 1678 was only *fifty thousand Pounds per Annum*, instead of *five hundred thousand Pounds per Annum*?—You know, and he expressly declares, that he does not; And yet *this* is the Error, which you have here the Assurance to intimate that he has been guilty of; Whereas he particularly confin'd himself upon this Occasion, only to the *Ordinary and Ordnance of the Navy*.

For the *Bystander* has expressly estimated the *whole* Expence of the Navy and Ordnance for the three Years next after the Restoration at 248,000 l. per Annum upon a Medium; Which is very near to Sir *William Petty's* Account, (who was far from diminishing the Expence,) in his *Treatise* entitled, *Verbum Sapienti*, written about the end of the Year 1665; In which he computes the *whole* Expence of

of the *Navy* and *Ordnance* together, as it then stood in times of Peace, *communibus Annis*, to be 260,000 *l. per Annum*.

It may be proper to observe in general in this Place, that what the *Bystander* endeavours to compute, is the *Income* of the *Crown*, and of the *People*, respectively, at the two Periods of the *Restoration* and the *Revolution*; For which Purpose in the first Case he very fairly delivers, the low State of the Revenues of the *Customs*, *Excise*, and other Branches, as they stood immediately after the *Restoration*; And states opposite thereto, the Expences for the public Services, as they appear to have been at that time; And therefore all your Accounts of King *Charles's* Household Expences, of the Expences of his *Navy* or *Army*, as they were augmented *twenty* Years after, is quite impertinent to the State of these things at *this Period*;—For as his *Expences* in general were somewhat augmented towards the End of his Reign, the *annual Produce* of his *Ordinary Revenue* was so likewise, even to be more than *double* of what it amounted to in 1660;—But so ignorant are you, that without any Consideration of these Circumstances, you state his *increas'd Expences* at the *End* of his Reign, opposite to his *low Revenues* at the *beginning*;—And by these Means, and your *polemical Arithmetic*, have so happily succeeded in your *ADVENTURES* of the *Debts* and *Deficiencies*.

You complain of the *Bystander*, Page 120, for saying that the Convention in 1660, *justify'd* the first Opposition of the Lords and Commons to the Crown in 1642; And you say, “*Tis incumbent on him to point out the Place, where such Justification may be found; or else it will be deem'd like the rest of his Remarks and Calculations, to be without Foundation; For my own part I have read over the Journal of that Convention, and can find no such*

“THING in it;” And you go on to mention the Censure which was pass’d upon *Lenthall* by that Convention Parliament, for saying, that *those who first took up Arms against the late King, were as guilty, as those who cut off his Head*; After which you add, But, “*This is far from justifying or saying there was no Guilt at all in the first Opposition.*”

What you, Sir, may think to be a *Justification*, I can’t tell; But, to go no further than the Words of this *Censure* upon Mr. *Lenthall*, it is therein declar’d, that, “*What he had let fall contain’d as high a Reflexion, as could be express’d, on the Justice and Proceedings of the Lords and Commons of the last Parliament in their Actings before 1648—Who drew the Sword to bring Delinquents to Punishment, and to VINDICATE their JUST LIBERTYS;*” These last Words, Sir, as I humbly apprehend, are a little like a *Justification* of that *first Opposition*;—And I must tell you further, Sir, that they will ever be read, and remembred with Pleasure, by true *Englishmen*;—Notwithstanding, as it seems, they have been quite overlook’d by your nonjuring Reverence.

You are excessively angry with the *Bystander*, Page the 106th, for some Reflexions he has made on the gorging Liberality of the *Tory* Parliament, which met on the 8th of *May 1661*; And you cry out in great Fury, Page the 124th, “*That you cannot conceive, why this Parliament should be accus’d of a forwardness to GORGE the King, when looking over all the Journals of their Proceedings, I can’t find the least Colour or Pretence for such a Charge; which could be suggested at first, by nothing but a Spirit of Calumny, though it hath pass’d uncontroul’d by the Confidence with which the Falshood was propagated; And through the Laziness of the World in not examining into the Truth of the Matter; The BYSTANDER hath thought fit to adopt it for his own; Let him produce then, if he* can,

" can, his Grounds for what I can't help calling an
" IMPUDENT CALUMNY."

You are *resolv'd* then, I perceive, to call this an *impudent Calumny*, whatever shall be offer'd to the contrary; And therefore it may seem to little Purpose to insist on it further; However, though it may be impossible to *convince* you, yet in order to *mitigate* your *Wrath* in regard to this *gorging Liberality*, I beg leave to present to you the following Grounds for it, with great Submission.

And first, Sir, be pleas'd to accept of a few Words of the *Speaker's* Speech to the *King*, on the 19th of May 1662;—" If your Majesty but
" please to cast your Eyes on the Table, and behold the
" great Number of Bills, that there present themselves
" before you, like so many Sheafs of Corn bound
" up, and ready to be hous'd, and will vouchsafe to
" see how both my Hands are fill'd with no light
" Presents from your Loyal Commons; And if your
" Royal Majesty the great Lord of the Harvest, &c."

To which the Chancellor answer'd, amongst other Things, " That they had, like the richest and
" noblest Soil, yielded the King two full Harvests
" in one Year; And therefore it was but good Husbandry to lie fallow for some time;"—I apprehend from hence, Sir, with your Leave, that they had gorged the King, so that the Chancellor thought it decent to *cheque* their *Liberality*, and desir'd them for some time to lie fallow.

And the King himself, who was a good Judge of Men, understood well what he said, and hit the Nail pretty full, when he expressed himself thus to them, in his Speech of the 3d March 1661; " In
" a Word, I KNOW most of your FACES, and NEVER
" HOPE to find BETTER MEN in your PLACES."

You make another Attack upon the *Bystander* Page 136, for " his Account of the Value arising
" from the Sale of the FEE FARM-RENTS, which"
say you, " He styles the Sale of CROWN LANDS;
" Though

"*Though there is not in the Act a Syllable about LANDS, unless in the Exception in the second Clause.*"

Sir, I have the *Act* now lying before me, and read in the *fourth, eighth and ninth* Clauses several Provisions in regard to the "*LANDS charg'd, or chargeable, or subject to such Rents;*" This, Sir, I now see, though you say that there is not a Syllable in this *Act* about *Lands*, except in the *second Clause*.

But you go on, "*The King can't well be thought to raise a fourth Part of what the BYSTANDER computes, or at most 400,000*l.* by this Sale;*"—The *Bystander* has estimated the Account of it at 1,300,000*l.* according to Mr. *Coke's* Account in his *Detection*; And the great Mr. *Marvell*, who was a very accurate Observer of Things, declares, in his *Growth of Popery*, printed in the *State Tracts*, that the value of these Rents amounted to no less than 1,800,000*l.*; Upon which let any Gentleman judge, whether the *Bystander* is fond, as you intimate, of *aggravating* the Sums, which he delivers upon these Occasions.

But I perceive we are to have a further *Struggle* together upon this Subject;—For though you have declared yourself, in Page the 112th, That "*King Charles was forced to part with his own Crown-Lands;*" And in Page the 79th, you mention his *Alienation of the Crown-Lands*, Yet in other Places of your Book you assert that he sold only the *Fee Farm RENTS*, not the *LANDS*;—Thus, Page the 137th, you say, "*The Sale of the Crown-Lands was not the Act and Deed of a Tory Parliament; The Act in Question gave no Authority for the Sale of any LANDS, and even excepted all Quit and Copyhold Rents belonging to Manors, and all Rents reserv'd upon Estates in Reversion to the Crown; This shews the Falshood of the Bystander's Account of the matter; And if the Blame of the Sale of the Fee Farm RENTS is to be laid upon any Body, &c.*"

It

It is astonishing to observe you thus insist upon a Point, where you know you are equivocating, and insinuating Falstys; You have admitted before, that the *Crown LANDS* were parted with, and alienated by this King; But now you have taken it into your Head, upon imagining it will be some Mitigation of the Business, to insist that he sold only the *Fee Farm RENTS*;—The Case was, The *Crown Lands* had been set out upon Lease to several Tenants at certain annual Rents; Afterwards King *Charles* the II^d. was enabled to sell, and he sold accordingly, all Rents, Claim, Right and Property whatever in these Lands;—Are the *Lands* then sold, or not?—No, say you, only the *Rents* are sold, not the *Lands*; And it shews the Falshood of the *Bystander* to assert otherwise;—This is such wretched Stuff, as places you beneath all *Resentment*, and leaves you only a poor Object of *Pity*;—I shall therefore only stop to observe, that your Notion of purchasing all the *Rents* and Property of a Farm, without buying any Part of the *Land*, is capable of being illustrated but by one Instance; And that is,—If any one had purchas'd your *Brains*, you might safely assert, that he had bought no part of your *Head*.

You complain, Page 130, of the *Bystander* for intimating that the King pocketed a great part of the Money, which was given for the first *Dutch War*; And you say, “Whoever considers that the
 “*War* had been carrying on against the *DUTCH* alone
 “in 1664 and 1665, and against the united Powers
 “of *FRANCE, HOLLAND* and *DENMARK* afterwards; What extraordinary naval Armaments the
 “King made,—What bloody Engagements,—Infinite Quantities of Stores spent, &c. will hardly think
 “that the extraordinary Supplies, amounting to almost
 “five Millions and an half, were more than sufficient
 “for these Expences; Since the bare Pay of 40,000
 “Seamen,

“ Seamen, allow’d ordinarily for Wars, against
 “ weaker and less active Maritime Powers, does in
 “ three Years time amount to above 800,000*l.* more
 “ than that Sum.”

You are here plainly supposing that 40,000 Seamen, at least, were annually employ’d by his Majesty, during this War; And yet within a few Lines afterwards in the very same Page 130, you quote the Journal of the House of Commons of October 31, 1667, upon the burning of our Ships at Chatham; And say, “ It appears from that Journal that the King was so far from POCKETING any Money, that he had actually at the time of that Affair EIGHTEEN THOUSAND Seamen aboard his Fleet, which would have been able to have fought the Dutch, if it had been united;”—So that from hence it appears, that there were only eighteen thousand Seamen, employ’d by the King in the last Year of the War, and that the extraordinary twenty two thousand are such as you have taken into Pay yourself;—But whether you intended them for the Service of the War, or only to give us another Stroke of your Humour, after the manner of your former Account of the Ships, is what I am not able to determine.

It is likewise to be observed, that these eighteen thousand Seamen are said to have been sufficient, if our Fleet had been united, to have fought the Dutch; However let it be suppos’d, which will be a full Allowance for this Time, that his Majesty employ’d twenty thousand Seamen extraordinary upon Account of this War; That is, over and above, what were ordinarily employ’d for the Summer and Winter Guard; This Number for about three Years and an half, (*viz.* from the 22d of February 1664-5, when this War was proclaim’d, to the latter End of July 1667, when the Peace was concluded,) at the Rate of 4*l.* per Man per Month, cost the King, three Millions six hundred and forty thousand Pounds;
 And

And you acknowledge in this Page, that the King received 5,483,847*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* for the uses of this War; Besides 300,000*l.* which you say, Page the 133d, "*was granted to him for a further Supply to answer the Expences of this War;*"—So that according to your own Account his Majesty received for this War 5,783,847*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; And his extraordinary Expence in it having been only 3,640,000*l.* there remained clear Gain to his Majesty, 2,143,847*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*;—And yet because the *Bystander* has intimated that the King gain'd about 1,800,000*l.* by this War, you have told him in your 134th Page, that it is an *Infamous Charge*; And in your 132d Page, that he acted in this with an *unparallel'd Assurance*;—Not that I complain, Sir, upon this occasion of the *Severity* of your *Blows*, But only beg leave to exhibit your *Weapons*.

After this you give an Account of the *upright Conduct* of all Affairs of the *Navy* at this Time; And say, Page the 134d, that the "*House of Commons had inquir'd into all the Mismanagements of the Navy and Exchequer, and Officers thereof; but seem to have found NONE,—EXCEPT in the Commissioners of the Navy discharging Seamen, when Ships came in, by Tickets without Pay; And giving undue Preference in the Payment of those Tickets to Favourites, whereby the Seamen were forc'd to sell them at a Discount to their Officers and Agents*".—This is exactly of a Piece with your Account of Mr. *Rapin*, who, you say Page the 147th, "*Never Read a Record, a Council-Book, a Roll of Parliament, a Journal of either House, or indeed any of the most proper and authentic Materials for our History;—EXCEPT what are found in Rymer*";—Who has only form'd a compleat Collection of all our *Rolls, Records, and Treatys*.

You expatiate after this upon some *Difficultys*, which the King was involv'd in towards the End

of his Reign; And you say, Page the 152d, "*All that the Commons would do to enable him, was to allow him to borrow 200,000*l*. on the additional Excise*"; And you add, Page the 154th, "*He suffer'd great Inconveniencys by not being REPAID the 200,000*l*. he had borrow'd on the additional Excise, to provide Stores, and make the necessary Preparations for a War in Consequence of his Alliances*";—I shall now indisputably prove, Sir, that this 200,000*l*. was repaid to the King;—For it appears by the Journal of the House of Commons of the 21st June 1678, to have been then resolv'd, that a Supply should be granted for the Repayment of the 200,000*l*. borrow'd upon the additional Excise, and for other Purposes;—And accordingly an *Act* was pass'd the same Sessions, for granting a Supply to his Majesty of 619,388*l*. 11*s*. 9*d*. for disbanding the Army, and other Uses therein mention'd.

In which *Act* after granting the Sum of 206,462*l*. 17*s*. 3*d*. for disbanding the Army, are the following Words; "*And whereas we your said Majesty's obedient Subjects, the Commons of England in Parliament assembled, are engag'd unto your Majesty for the Repayment of the Sum of TWO HUNDRED THOUSAND POUNDS, which your Majesty hath been pleas'd to raise upon the Credit of a certain Act, entituled, an Act for an additional Excise upon Beer, Ale, and other Liquors, We your Majesty's most Loyal, &c. do hereby give and grant to your Majesty the Sum of 412,925*l*. 14*s*. 6*d*. for Repayment of the said Sum of 200,000*l*. for the extraordinary Charge of the Navy, and for the Princess of Orange's Portion,—So that you are here guilty, as usual, of a most barefac'd Falshity, in order to heap your Incumbrances and Difficultys upon this Monarch.*

The *Bystander* in his Enumeration of the Receipts for the Year 1661, charges 100,000*l.* for the *Fines*, for renewing the *Cornish Leases*; This you descant upon Page the 95th, 96th and 97th; And say that "King Charles the 1st. about August 1645, caus'd a short Account of the Services of the Cornish Gentlemen to be drawn up, and by an Order of Council directed it to be hung up in every Church of that County,"—And afterwards you add, "When that Prince had such a Sense of their Services, can it possibly be thought, that he did not, till that time at least, renew their Leases, fill up Lives that dropp'd in his Cause, if not grant reversionary ones, in their Favour?"—In answer to this Interrogatory Account of yours, which is entirely founded upon your own Imagination, I shall only deliver the Words of the *Act* for renewing these Leases, now lying before me, "Whereas for TWENTY Years and MORE now last past, NO LEASES have been legally made, so that it is probable most of the Tenants Estates will be determin'd, or near Determination, e're that there can be any Estates well and legally renew'd, &c."—So that these Reversionary Leases, and Renewals which you mention, have been entirely a *Secret* to the rest of the World; Though, I presume, you are possessed of several of them, amongst your other authentic Materials.

But, Sir, as *Anecdotes* of this sort may occasion great variety of new Claims and Pretensions to these *Lands*, it is to be hop'd you will not hastily publish them to the World, before you are sufficiently appriz'd of the Consequences to the present Possessors; Especially, as it is possible, that your Humanity in suppressing them, may by no Means interfere with the strictest Rules of Veracity.

It seem'd to me at first to be your Aim, in introducing these reversionary Leases, only to diminish the

Value of the *Fines*, which were paid for them; But I perceive, in your 79th Page, that you will not allow any thing to be charg'd upon their Account; "*Because, say you, these FINES are computed amongst the small Branches of the Revenue, and ought not to be computed TWICE;*"—I entirely agree with you, that no Article ought to be computed *twice*; And had you, Sir, adher'd to this Rule, your *Debts* and *Deficiency's* would have made a less formidable Figure;—But you are so excessively ignorant, as to be unable to distinguish between the *constant Rents* of the Crown Lands, and the *casual Fines* upon a Renewal of the Leases; And thus, in a Case where there is the most obvious Difference, you cry out against a *double Computation* of the *same Sum*, when in other numerous Instances, where there was *no Distinction* at all, you have *doubly* and *trebly* charg'd the *same Sums*, without any Apprehension.

It is no wonder that by such ready and extensive Methods of *diminishing*, or *cancelling*, on one hand; and of *enlarging*, or *doubling*, and *tripling*, on the other; you have easily overbalanc'd any Sums which could justly be produc'd by the *Bystander*;—You are such an admirable *Artist*, that all the Instances of King Charles's Extravagance you range in his Favour; And, instead of blaming his Profusion, in your Page 91, you mention 150,000*l. per Annum* charg'd upon his Revenue, for *Pensions* and *Interest* of Money borrow'd, as a grievous *involuntary Incumbrance* on his Revenue;—And thus if *two Millions* per Annum had been granted by Parliament for his *Civil List* only, And he had either given it away in *Pensions*; Or had borrow'd and squander'd such Sums, as that their *Interest* had exhausted this whole Revenue; We should have seen you complaining of the cruel *Frugality* of the *Parliament*, and deploring the *King*, as destitute

tute of any Income for the Support of his Household and Dignity, after discharging these heavy Incumbrances.

That this is very far from being any *Conjecture* of mine upon your *Method of reasoning*, appears not only from your treating the foregoing Instance of 150,000*l. per Annum* for *Interest of Money and Pensions* in this manner, but likewise by your actually descanting in this *Fashion*, upon the great Sum of Money, which he seiz'd in the *Exchequer*; This was no less than 1,328,526*l.* which he had borrow'd of the *Bankers*, and for which he had granted them Orders, payable in Course with Interest, upon the *Hereditary Excise*, and other Revenues; And by his stopping the Payments of these Sums at the *Exchequer*, great Numbers of Families in every part of the Kingdom were impoverish'd and ruin'd; This Act, which was one of the most infamous Violations of Property and Justice, that ever was practis'd in any Kingdom, was justly remark'd as such by the *Bystander*; But you, instead of being in the least sensible of this, have ignorantly introduc'd it, with great Confidence, as a grievous *Hardship* upon the King;—Because, after he had seiz'd this Sum, He pretended to be very exact, in charging himself with its *Interest*.

Your own Words are these, Page the 90th,
 “ King Charles created Perpetuities and Pensions, for
 “ Lives and Terms of Years, on the *Exchequer, Customs, Tenths, Post-Office* and other Branches of the
 “ Revenue; by which it was considerably diminish'd,
 “ And more so, after the Year 1672, (when the Payments of the *Exchequer* were stopp'd) by the yearly
 “ Charge of 72,566*l.* 14*s.* 2*d.* payable for perpetual Interest to the Goldsmiths who had Money
 “ there;”—And thus if he had seiz'd two or three Millions more, (as he certainly would if ever it had
 been

been in his Power,) And had promis'd the Proprietors *Interest* for their Money, you would have represented him as still FURTHER *incumber'd* thereby,—without any sense of his Robbery of the People.

It is curious to observe your manner of Expression upon all these Occasions;—You knew that this *Interest* was not *perpetually* paid, but actually stopp'd during King *Charles's* Life-time; Though you had not the Integrity *fairly* to own it; Nor was one Farthing of the *Principal*, or *Interest* either, of this Sum of 1,328,526 l. paid during all the Reign of his *pious* Brother, and Successor; You have therefore tenderly worded it, “*That this yearly Charge of 79,566 l. 14 s. 2 d. was payable FOR perpetual Interest to the Goldsmiths*;—In such sort of uncertain Expressions endeavouring to escape the Charge of *Falsity*; and at the same time *dishonestly* to impose upon your Readers.

It might have been imagin'd, that you would have rested contented with this *Fallacy*, and not have dar'd any more to have meddled with this Business of the *Bankers*; But you are so *harden'd* a Writer, that in the very next Page you venture to attack this Subject again, in which you still more ridiculously expose your own Ignorance; Your Words are, Page the 91st, “*The Civil List Revenue was settled clear upon King William and his Successors, exclusive of 145,800 l. 1 s. 1 d. $\frac{1}{2}$, charg'd for PENSIONS and PERPETUITYS, and the 79,566 l. 14 s. 2 d. to the GOLDSMITHS; So that though they were a great Load on King CHARLES's Revenue; they have been none at all to the CIVIL List since the Revolution.*”

It is certain, Sir, that the Pensions which are granted by one King are not binding upon his Successor; The King regnant being only the Tenant for

for Life in his Civil List Revenue, and unable to alienate it without the Consent of Parliament; And it is true that in the first *Act* for settling King *William's* Civil List Revenue, there is no Clause for continuing the Payment of any Pensions or Perpetuities charg'd by his Predecessors; However they were actually paid in his Reign; And their Burden upon King *William* was a great Motive to the Grant of 700,000*l.* *per Annum* for his Civil List Revenue;—In the *Act* for settling Queen *Anne's* Civil List Revenue, there is a *saving Clause* added, whereby the *Right* to these Pensions and Perpetuities is secur'd to the *Grantees*;—And the same *saving Clause* was likewise inserted in the *Act* for settling the Civil List Revenue of King *George* the 1st;—Nor was it till the middle of his Reign, that these Pensions and Perpetuities, then amounting to about 36,200*l.* *per Annum*, were discharg'd from the Civil List Revenue, by an *Act* of the seventh of the said late King, *Cap. 17*; And they have since that time been paid out of the *Sinking Fund*;—So that contrary to your Assertions, these *Pensions* and *Perpetuities* have indisputably been a Load upon the *Civil List* Revenue, and also upon the *Public Revenues*, since the Revolution.

As to the *Interest*, upon the Bankers or Goldsmiths Money seiz'd in the Exchequer, it was stopp'd by King *Charles* himself at *Lady-Day* 1683; And no Part of either this *Interest*, or the *Principal*, was paid by his *Conscientious* Successor; But after the Revolution, in Compassion to the Sufferers, one *Moiety* of the whole Debt was charged by the *Act* of the 12 and 13. *William* the 1st. upon the *Hereditary Excise*, after the Rate of 6 *per Centum per Annum*, to be paid for ever, from *Christmas* 1705, unless redeemed by Parliament;—
And

And this *Interest* was accordingly paid till *Michaelmas* 1717; when the *Moiety* of this Debt amounting to 664,263*l.* was voluntarily subscrib'd into a Joint Stock of Annuitys at 5 per Cent per Annum; pursuant to an Act of the third of George the 1st. Cap. 7; And now subsists amongst the National Debts;—So that this *Interest* to the *Bankers* appears likewise indisputably to have been a *Load* upon the *Government*, since the Revolution, and actually continues so at this Juncture.

However you go on, in these Words, “*Though they were a great Load upon King Charles’s Revenue, they have been none at all to the CIVIL LIST, since the Revolution; BUT IF they are no Loss to the Government;*”—Hold, dear Sir; It has been prov’d that these *Pensions* and *Interest* ARE a Loss to the Government;—“*But, say you, IF they ARE NOT a Loss*”—BUT, Sir, they are, and have been a *Loss* to the Government;—But it seems you have a Fancy to abuse some Ministers, and you shall proceed in your own Words; Not but that, I perceive, you will expose yourself still more ridiculously.

“BUT IF,” say you, “*They are no Loss to the Government, they have probably been of some Advantage to Ministers and Officers of the Treasury; For though the House of Commons allow’d of these Pensions at the Time abovementioned, yet such Difficulty is made about the paying of any of King Charles’s Grants, that I have known Gentlemen entitled to some of these Pensions forc’d to part with one half of them, in order to get the other;*”—So then you have yourself known one half of these *Pensions* obtain’d by the Claimants; Though you have asserted at the same time that they have been no *Load* at all upon the *Civil List*, or the *Government*,
since

since the Revolution;—Good God! What incorrigible Stuff do you utter!—Though a moderate Conquest of yourself might be sometimes tolerable, yet it is quite shocking to see you thus perpetrate Self-murder.

However, though you are now indisputably dead, and salted, I shall suppose for *Argument's sake*, that you are still alive, and speaking further upon this Subject;—After your foregoing Account of the *Pensions*, and the *Bankers Money*, you rally again in your 144th Page, and thus give us another Stroke upon the same Articles; “*It appears by the Journal of the Commons on April 27, 1689, that there were Debts upon King Charles's ordinary Revenue of the Customs, Excise, Fee Farm Rents, and Hearth-Money, standing out in the Year 1671, and never paid afterwards, to the Amount of 871,768 l. 12 s. 6 d. $\frac{1}{2}$; 'TIS NO WONDER THEN, that to make the necessary Preparations for the War, he stopp'd the Payments of his Exchequer FOR A YEAR. AT FIRST (which time he was oblig'd afterwards to PROLONG) with regard to the PRINCIPAL Money of the Goldsmiths, Bankers and others, who had Warrants, Orders or Securitys thereon;—* Your method of reasoning here is most admirable;—King Charles, you say, had borrow'd of his Subjects in the Year 1671 above 870,000 l, which was never repaid afterwards; But instead of blaming him for this Cruelty in robbing and impoverishing his Subjects, you add, “*'Tis no wonder then, after this, that he seiz'd the Bankers Money in order to make Preparation for the War;*”—And in the same manner you might have proceeded, and said;—*It is no wonder when he had seized the Bankers Money, which he never paid afterwards, if he was oblig'd to seize any other Money of his Subjects;—And so on;—Urging one Robbery of his People, as a Justification of another.*

It is here likewise to be observ'd, that upon the shutting up of the Exchequer, King Charles immediately put out a PROCLAMATION; and declar'd in the most solemn manner, that this Stop of his Subjects Money should *only* be continu'd for *one twelve Month*; But at the Expiration of this Term he scandalously broke his Word, and thus heap'd up one Falsity and Treachery upon another; This *additional* Wickedness you very *softly* express, by saying, that he *stopp'd the Payment of this Money only for a YEAR AT FIRST, which he was afterwards oblig'd to PROLONG*;—You knew all this while, that King Charles NEVER repaid this Money; And yet you could not, for the *Spirit* of you, fairly acknowledge it; But *jesuitically* say, that he *prolong'd the Repayment*; Suppressing the Truth, and attempting to mislead your Readers, by such little *shuffling* Artifices.

You march on, endeavouring to make your way with uncertain equivocal EXPRESSIONS in your *Van*, and a Train of FALSITYS *sneaking* at your *Heels*, which is the true Emblem of your *Historical PROCESSION*; And you say, "*Which*" (Time) "*He was afterwards oblig'd to prolong with regard to the PRINCIPAL Money, for the INTEREST thereof (see Gazette N^o 641) WAS TO BE duly paid at the Rate of six per Cent, and the Lords of the Treasury were order'd to state every particular Person's Debt in order thereto*;—You was very sensible, whilst you were writing this *Stuff*, that this *Interest* was stopp'd in King Charles's own Reign; And yet you here attempt to persuade your Reader, that it was justly discharg'd; Though at the same time you are so sensible of the Falsity, that you *dare* not aver it *directly*, nor say that this *Interest was duly paid*, but only that it *was to be duly paid*;—And as to your Account of the exact stating of every Man's Debt by the Lords of the

the

the *Treasury*, and your old *Gazette* N^o 641, as they were no Satisfaction to the deluded Creditors at the End of King *Charles's* Reign, so in this Place they serve only to prove your own *prevaricating Assurance*.

You proceed on Page the 14th, and complain of the *Bystander* for saying, that *Clifford* was the Adviser of this Step, "*Whereas*" say you, "*All the World knows that Shaftsbury was the first Mover of it;*" I shall not endeavour in this Place, any more than I believe the *Bystander* intended, to vindicate Lord *Shaftsbury's* Conduct in this Business, which was undoubtedly very abandon'd in his Defence of it; However it is certain that there is a great deal of difference, between a Person, whose Imagination suggests to him a wicked Project, which he intends to conceal; And another Person, who artfully extorts this Project from him, and immediately advises, without the Knowledge of the former, that it be put in Execution; This last was the Case of *Clifford*; And therefore the *Bystander* very justly has called *Him* the Adviser of this Scheme, which he could not with Truth have called the Lord *Shaftsbury*;—But as you are unable to make any proper Distinction yourself, it is no wonder you are puzzled when you meet with such in other Writers.

You afterwards add, "*The BYSTANDER says, the Money, the Payment whereof was THUS POSTPONED, amounted to 1,328,526 l; 'Tis not worth while to examine whether this were the exact Sum; But it would be unpardonable in me not to observe, that a Man capable of stiling this an infamous Robbery of his Majesty's Creditors, and of asserting that thousands of Familys were ruin'd by it, must be lost to all sense of Shame, as well as Truth, WHEN the Journal before quoted (of April the 27th*
M 2 " 1689)

“ 1689) assures us, that King Charles had CHARG'D
 “ upon his Exchequer PERPETUAL Interest, of
 “ 79,566l. 14s. 2d. for this Money; And it was
 “ paid accordingly,—TILL ABOUT A YEAR BEFORE
 “ THAT PRINCE'S DEATH;”—And thus after
 swaggering about the perpetual Payment of this In-
 terest for several Pages, abusing the *Bystander* for
 intimating the contrary, and referring your Reader
 to the old Gazette N^o 641, and the exact stating of
 every one's Debt by King Charles's Lords of the
Treasury, you here acknowledge yourself, that this
 Interest was only paid, “ till about a Year before
 “ that Prince's Death.”

This is the true *Bully Method* of Acting;—
 A *Covent-Garden Hero* after stopping a Gentleman
 in the same manner, and abusing him for several
 Affronts which he pretends to have receiv'd, at
 the End of his Discourse, when he is likely to be
 chastis'd for his Impudence, relinquishes all the
 Points he has contended for; And with the most
 serene Assurance gives up the whole, which he has
 so long been blustering about.

Such is exactly your Treatment of the *Bystander*;
 You have stopp'd this Gentleman, and declar'd,
 “ That he must be lost to all Sense of Shame, as well
 “ as Truth, for asserting that many Familys were
 “ ruin'd by the Seizure of the Bankers Money;
 When,” say you, “ King Charles charged a PERPE-
 “ TUAL Interest for this Money;”—By which one
 would imagine that you intended to vindicate the
 perpetual Payment of this Interest; Especially as
 you add, “ And it was paid accordingly;”—But now
 comes the Escape;—“ Till about a Year before that
 “ Prince's Birth;—Whereby you give up the
 whole Debate;—What Chastisement you de-
 serve for this Method of acting, I shall submit to
 the Reader; Only observing that the *Correction*

to the other sort of *Bullys* is usually distributed upon their *Shoulders*.

After this you proceed, Page 160, "to state the
" *WHOLE SUM, which was rais'd upon the People of*
" *England by ALL MANNER OF TAXES whatever*
" *in the TWENTY FOUR YEARS of King CHARLES's*
" *actual Possession of the Government;*" And the
first Article of your Account stands thus,—"*It*
" *appears from former Calculations (of the BYSTAN-*
" *DER's own making) That the CUSTOMS, EXCISE,*
" *POST-OFFICE and WINE-LICENCES, produc'd*
" *652,952l. a Year, and in 24 Years from 1661 to*
" *1684 both inclusive, 15,670,846l.*"

This is all absolutely false, the *Bystander* computed the general *Receipts*, and *Disbursements* for public *Services*, for a few Years after the *Restoration*, in order to fix the particular *Income* obtain'd by the *Crown* for its own Purposes about that Period; And he very fairly exhibited the low Produce of the *Customs, Excise*, and other Branches at that Juncture; This low Produce at first, you have thought fit to fix as the full annual Amount of these Revenues for twenty four Years together afterwards; Though this Produce went on, continually increasing, so as about the middle of this Reign to be double the Sum which it amounted to at the *Restoration*;—But because the *Bystander* mentions the just Produce of these Revenues in 1660, you would pretend to be very candid, and take his Account, as you call it, for the whole Reign; Whereas he expressly says, Page the 83d and 61st, of his Piece*, "*That the produce of King Charles's settled Revenue, for the FIRST THREE OR FOUR YEARS from the Restoration, was not HALF, what it afterwards amounted to.*"

This Conduct of yours, though I am sensible how much is to be allow'd to your Ignorance, could
pro-

proceed from nothing but the most shocking *Insincerity*; You could not be ignorant that the Produce of the *Customs, Excise*, and other Branches of the settled Revenue, was greatly increas'd towards the End of King *Charles's* Reign; For it was not only expressly declar'd to you by the *Bystander*, but you mention yourself Page the 174th, that the Produce of the *Excise* only, upon a medium of *four Year* in King *James's* Reign, was no less than 610,000*l. per Annum*, which was little different from the Produce towards the End of King *Charles's* Reign; The *Customs* likewise amounted to much about the same Sum as the *Excise*; And yet you have the Dishonesty to estimate the whole Revenue of the *Customs, Excise, Post-Office* and *Wine-Licences* during all King *Charles's* Reign at only 652,952*l. per Annum*, and upon this Foundation have gravely deliver'd to the Public, an Account of the whole Produce of all the Taxes whatever rais'd upon this Nation under that Monarch.

To point out how monstrously you have varied in this from the Truth, I shall here give the Particulars of your Account in your own Words, and confront it with the just Account of these Taxes.

An ACCOUNT of all the Money raised upon the Nation by all Taxes whatever, during the Reign of King Charles the II^d. from Christmas 1660 to Christmas 1684, according to the great Mr. THOMAS CARTE.

" Customs, Excise, Post-Of-	l.	s.	d.
" fice, and Wine-Licences at	15,670,846	00	0
" 652,952 <i>l. per Annum</i>			
" for 24 Years			

Brought

l. s. d.

Brought over	15,670,846	00	0
"Hearth Money for two Years	250,000	00	0
"and an half at 100,000 l. per Annum to 1664"			
"Ditto from 1664 to 1684	3,200,000	00	0
"at 160,000 l. per Annum being 20 Years"			
"Additional Excise for 9 Years"	990,000	00	0
"Duty on Law Proceedings for 9 Years at 80,000 l. per Annum"	710,000	00	0
"In 1661, by Assessment, voluntary Present, and Ar-rears"	1,640,000	00	0
"1662, Prize Moneys"	20,000	00	0
"1663 Subsidy Act"	360,000	00	0
"1664, Land-Tax"	2,477,500	00	0
"1665, Aid"	1,250,000	00	0
"1666, Poll-Bill and Assessments"	1,756,347	13	10
"1668, Duty on Wines and Brandys"	310,000	00	0
"1669, Impost on Wine and Vinegar"	400,000	00	0
"1670, Land-Tax of 1 s. in the Pound"	600,000	00	0
"1671-3, Monthly Assessments"	1,238,750	00	0
"1677, For building 30 Men of War"	584,978	02	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
"By additional Duty on Wine at 60,000 l. per An."	180,000	00	0
"1678 By monthly Assessments"	619,380	11	6
"1680, Ditto"	206,462	17	3

Total l. 32,474,265 04 9 $\frac{1}{2}$

And

And at the End of this Account you say, "This Sum of 32,472,265 l. 4 s. 9 d. $\frac{1}{2}$ which was all that was raised upon the People of England by all manner of Taxes whatever in the 24 Years of King Charles's actual Possession of the Government doth not one Year with another amount to full one Million three hundred, and fifty three thousand, ninety five Pounds per Annum.

After this I shall deliver,

An Account of the Money raised upon the Nation by all Taxes whatever, during the Reign of King Charles the 1st. from Christmas 1660 to Christmas 1684, according to the public Statutes, and the Books of the Custom-House, Excise, and other Offices.

The OLD CUSTOMS produc'd
for one Year and three Quar-
ters, viz. from Christmas
1660 to Michaelmas 1662,
after the Rate of 400,000 l.
per Annum gross Produce,
which for this Term a-
mounted to

l. s. d.
700,000 00 0

Ditto were let to farm for five
Years, viz. from Michaelmas
1662 to Michaelmas 1667,
at 390,000 l. per Annum,
as appears from the Journal
of the House of Commons of
the 4th of June 1663; And
therefore estimating the
Farmers Expences and Profits
at 20,000 l. per Annum, the
whole gross Produce was
420,000 l. per Annum, which
for this Term amounted to

2,100,000 00 0

Ditto

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Brought forward ———	2,800,000	00	0
<i>Ditto</i> produc'd from <i>Michaelmas</i> 1667 to <i>Michaelmas</i> 1671, <i>gross</i> Produce, from 450,000 <i>l.</i> to 560,000 <i>l.</i> <i>per Annum</i> ; which at a <i>Medium</i> of 505,000 <i>l.</i> <i>per Annum</i> , for these four Years amounted to	2,020,000	00	0
<i>Ditto</i> from <i>Michaelmas</i> 1671 to <i>Michaelmas</i> 1684, being <i>thirteen</i> Years, they produced <i>exactly</i> , as appears from the <i>Custom-House</i> Books	8,481,562	5	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
From <i>Michaelmas</i> 1684 to <i>Christmas</i> 1684 being <i>one Quarter</i> , they produc'd upon a medium collected from the <i>three</i> last Years antecedent	190,648	00	0
The Hereditary and Temporary Excise produced for the <i>first Year and three Quarters</i> , viz. from <i>Christmas</i> 1660 to <i>Michaelmas</i> 1662, nearly	480,000	00	0
<i>Ditto</i> from <i>Michaelmas</i> 1662 to <i>Midsummer</i> 1684, being 21 $\frac{1}{2}$ Years, they produc'd <i>exactly</i> , as appears from the <i>Excise</i> Books	9,563,516	01	10 $\frac{3}{4}$
Total	23,535,726	7	3

	l.	s.	d.
Brought forward	23,535,726	7	3
Ditto from Midsummer 1684 to Christmas 1684, being one half Year, they pro- duced, as appears from the Excise Books	338,007	11	2 $\frac{1}{4}$

The Wine-Licences, (which are too moderately estimat- ed by the <i>Bystander</i>) pro- duced, as appears from the <i>Journals</i> of the <i>House of</i> <i>Commons</i> of the 4th June 1663, 20,000 <i>l.</i> per annum; At which Rate, with- out allowing for any In- crease, their Amount in 23 $\frac{1}{4}$ Years, reckoning from <i>La-</i> <i>dy-Day</i> 1661, when they commenced, to <i>Christmas</i> 1684, is	475,000 00 0
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The Post-Office at 21,500 <i>l.</i> per Annum for six Years and an half, viz. from <i>Christmas</i> 1660 to <i>Midsummer</i> 1667 produced	139,750 00 0
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Ditto from <i>Midsummer</i> 1667 to <i>Christmas</i> 1684 being 17 $\frac{1}{2}$ Years produced, from 25,000 <i>l.</i> to 50,000 <i>l.</i> per Annum, and at a medium of 37,500 per Annum for this Term amounted to	656,250 00 0
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Total	25,144,733	18	5 $\frac{1}{4}$
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Brought

Brought forward ———— l. s. d.
25,144,733 18 5 $\frac{1}{4}$

*The several following Branches
according to the Journal of the
House of Commons of the 4th
of June 1663 produced per
Annum, viz.*

The first Fruits and Tenth } 18,800

Coynage and Pre-emption of Tyn } 12,000

Alienation Office and Hannaper } 3,600

Profits of the Seals in Kings Bench and Common Pleas } 3,153

Profits of the Six-penny Writs } 1,375

Post Fines 3,000

Issues of Jurors 1,660

Aulnage 3,000

One Shilling per Chaldron upon the Newcastle Coals } 8000

Prizage of Wines 2000

In all per Annum gross Produce } 36,588

Which for 24 Years amounted to

Total 26,022,845 18 5 $\frac{1}{4}$

N 2

Brought

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Brought forward	26,022,845	18	5 $\frac{1}{2}$
The Hearth-Money for <i>two</i> Years and an <i>half</i> at 120,000 <i>l.</i> per Annum gross Produce	300,000	00	0
<i>Ditto</i> afterwards from 160,000 <i>l.</i> to 240,000 <i>l.</i> per An. gross Produce ; which at a medium of 200,000 <i>l.</i> per Annum for 20 Years, amounted to	4,000,000	00	0
1661, The outstanding Mo- neys in Receivers and Col- lectors Hands 50,000 <i>l.</i> The Arrears of Excise 300,000 <i>l.</i> And voluntary Present 300,000 <i>l.</i> In all	650,000	00	0
Assessment of 70,000 <i>l.</i> per Month for 18 Months	1,260,000	00	0
1662, Prize Money 50,000 <i>l.</i> and Militia Act 210,000 <i>l.</i>	260,000	00	0
1663, The four Subsidys, and Tax on all Goods and Debts; This to avoid ca- vil, I shall only charge in this Place according to Mr. Coke, at	400,000	00	0
1664, The Land-Tax	2,477,500	00	00
1665, The Aid	1,250,000	00	0
One Months Assessment <i>rai-</i> <i>sed</i> upon the Kingdom, for a Present to the Duke of York	120,000	00	0
<i>N. B. This is entirely omitted by Mr. Carte.</i>			

Total 36,740,345 18 5 $\frac{1}{2}$

Brought

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Brought forward	36,740,345	18	5 $\frac{1}{4}$
1666, The Poll-Bill, 500,000 <i>l.</i> and Assessments 756,347 <i>l.</i> 13 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i>	1,256,347	13	4
1668, The Duty on Wines and Brandys	310,000	00	0
1669, The Impost on Wine and Vinegar was first grant- ed for eight Years to com- mence from <i>Midsummer</i> 1670; The gross Produce of it for the first Year and <i>Quarter</i> , viz. from <i>Midsum-</i> <i>mer</i> 1670 to <i>Michaelmas</i> 1671 was nearly	150,000	00	0
The gross Produce of it for the next six Years and three Quarters, viz. from <i>Micha-</i> <i>elmas</i> 1671 to <i>Midsummer</i> 1678, as appears by the Custom-House Books, was	959,085	8	11 $\frac{1}{4}$
1670, The Subsidy Act	600,000	00	0
The Additional Excise for six Years from <i>Midsummer</i> 1671 produc'd <i>exactly</i> , as appears by the Excise Books	772,861	03	0
The Duty on Law Proceed- ings for nine Years at 80,000 <i>l.</i> per <i>Annum</i>	720,000	00	0
1673, Assessments	1,238,750	00	0
1677, Assessments	584,978	00	0
The Additional Excise, which was granted for three Years longer produc'd <i>exactly</i> , as appears by the Excise Books	500,963	02	9
Total	43,833,331	06	6
			Brought

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Brought forward—	43,838,331	06	6
1677, An Act for raising Money by a Poll, and otherwise, for an <i>actual</i> War against the <i>French</i> King	1,200,000	00	0
N. B. <i>This is entirely omitted by Mr. Carte</i>			
A Supply to his Majesty for Disbanding the Army and other Uses	619,380	11	9
Additional Impost upon Wines and Vinegar for three Years, including Ar-rears afterwards brought in, produc'd <i>exactly</i> , as appears by the Custom-house Books	374,748	17	2 $\frac{1}{4}$
1680, A Supply to his Majesty	206,462	17	2
The Total Amount of the Sums raised upon the Nation by Taxes during the Reign of King <i>Charles</i> the Ild. from <i>Christmas</i> 1660 to <i>Christmas</i> 1684	46,233,923	12	7 $\frac{1}{4}$

It appears therefore indisputably from this *last Account*, that the Sum raised upon the Nation by Taxes under *Charles* the Ild, from *Christmas* 1660 to *Christmas* 1684, (exclusive of what was raised in the *Restoration* Year, and after *Christmas* 1684, during his Reign) was 46,233,923 l ; And therefore the whole which the GREAT Mr. Carte has omitted in his Account, is no more than the small Sum of about FOURTEEN MILLIONS STERLING.

It is indeed true, that this little Mistake is more than double the amount of his Error in the Charge of the Prince of Orange's Expedition, which was not much above SIX MILLIONS STERLING; but least any Gentleman should happen from these trifling

trifling Instances to be a little dubious of the *Accuracy* of the said GREAT Mr. Carte, I must beg leave to produce the *Testimony* of this eminent Author, in his *own* Behalf, at the End of his foregoing *Account* of the Taxes.

" I differ indeed in this Point very widely from
 " the BYSTANDER, who states the King's Civil List
 " alone, exclusive of all Disbursements for Public
 " Charges, at 1,735,900 l. a Year; But my State
 " thereof is fully prov'd by the Premises, in which
 " I have REFUTED the BYSTANDER's false Cal-
 " culations, and shewn the Reasons of my own
 " (wherever I differ from him) by UNDOUBTED
 " AUTHORITYS, drawn either from ACTS of PAR-
 " LIAMENT, or the JOURNALS of the HOUSE of
 " COMMONS, which I have cited FAITHFULLY,
 " and DEFY ALL MANKIND TO FIND ME TRIP-
 " PING IN A SINGLE QUOTATION.

This is such a *Proof* of Mr. Carte's ACCU-
 RACY, that I presume no Gentleman will offer
 to dispute it further; And it is to be hoped like-
 wise, that his great MODESTY in the foregoing
 Words will not pass unobserved; — But he
 proceeds, "*The World will be perhaps SURPRIZED,*
 " *after all the Clamours and Calumnys, thrown out*
 " *of late against his Person and Reign, to find how*
 " *little King CHARLES cost this Nation, and with*
 " *how inconsiderable an Expence, for so rich a People,*
 " *he maintained all his Wars, and carried on all the*
 " *Affairs of Government; The CROWN LANDS,*
 " *his own Patrimony, indeed paid for it, being sa-*
 " *crificed to the Public Charges of the Nation, and*
 " *the easing of his Subjects.*

As to your Expectation, Sir, that *the World will*
be SURPRIZED at your Account of how little King
 Charles cost this Nation, I am very apt to believe
 you will find it answer'd; — But when you add,
 that *the Crown LANDS paid for it*, I presume you
 a little

a little forgot your self, and your late strenuous Debate upon the *Fee Farm RENTS*; — However, as you have mentioned the Sale of the *Crown Lands*, under this Monarch, besides the *Taxes*, I shall likewise beg leave to point out several Sums which he received, besides what are exhibited in the foregoing *Account*.

And first, He obtain'd by the Sale of DUNKIRK five Millions of *Livres*, As appears by Monsieur De' *Estrades's* Letters; The *Bystander* has estimated the Value of a *Livre* then, to be about One Shilling Sterling, and consequently the whole Amount of this Purchase-Money to be 250,000 *l. Sterling*; But the Computation of this Gentleman in regard to the Value of a *Livre* at that time, appears to be much too moderate; Three *Livres* being then equal to one Crown; so that the whole Purchase-Money, as it is confirmed by many Writers, was upwards of 400,000 *l.*

But in this place I must be so candid to acknowledge, that King *Charles* declar'd, that this whole Sum should be lodg'd in the Tower of London, for the Public Services; From whence it does not appear ever to have been taken; This I beg leave to intimate to all Mr. *Carte's* FRIENDS; And also that if any of them can now find it in that Place, it will be a very laudable Mark of their Zeal for this deceased Prince.

Secondly, He receiv'd by Queen *Catharine's* Portion according to many Writers 400,000 *l.*; But I shall state this only according to the *Bystander's* low Estimation at 300,000 *l.*

Thirdly, His Share of the Prizes taken in the first and second Dutch War, which he did not remit to the Seamen, is valued by Historians of his Reign at upwards of 1,000,000 *l.*

Fourthly, The Pensions and extraordinary Bribes which he obtain'd from the *French* amounted to very large Sums, as

1st,

1st, For his breaking the *Triple League*, and beginning a second War upon the *Dutch*, at least 650,000 l.

This appears from Mr. *Acherley*, *Burnet*, and almost all the *Historians* of this Time, in particular Mr. *Coke* in the second Volume of his *Detection*, Page 176. says, that upon this Occasion “between SIX AND SEVEN HUNDRED THOUSAND POUNDS were received by Mr. CHIFFINS, he to have 2d. in the POUND, to be disposed of as the King shall Order.—If you doubt this, you may examine Mr. CHIFFINS’s Accounts when he was advised to pass them, and take his QUIETUS out of the Exchequer.”

2dly, He receiv’d from the *French King*, for making a Peace with him in 1678, (immediately after he had obtain’d from his People a Grant of 1,200,000l. in order to enter into an actual War against France) six Millions of *Livres per Annum* to be paid for three Years;—This was particularly prov’d by Mr. *Montague* his Majesty’s Ambassador to France, who produced to the House of Commons Lord *Danby*’s Letter to him, dated the 25th of March 1678, and testified at the bottom by the King, wherein are these Words,—“In Case the Conditions of PEACE shall be accepted, the KING expects to have SIX MILLIONS of LIVRES a YEAR for THREE YEARS, from the time that this Agreement shall be signed between his MAJESTY and the KING of FRANCE; Because it will probably be TWO or THREE YEARS, before the PARLIAMENT will be in HUMOUR to give him any Supplys, after the making any Peace with FRANCE;”—This Sum of eighteen Millions of *Livres* for the whole three Years, at the Rate of three *Livres* equal to one Crown, amounted to 1,500,000 l.

Besides these *two Articles*, which are thus evidently prov'd, It may very fairly be suppos'd, that many other large Sums were receiv'd from the *French King* by *Charles* the II^d, although they have not, so distinctly as these, been brought to light; It being very probable, after he once fell into the Method of receiving *French Money*, that he was continually bribed by the *grand Monarch*, and always negotiating his own Pension.

Fifthly, He seized the Money out of the *Exchequer* due to the *Bankers* and other Families, amounting to 1,328,526 *l*.

Sixthly, He receiv'd from the *States General* at the End of the *second Dutch War* 800,000 *Patacoons*, which at the Rate of *three Guilders* each, amounted to 220,000 *l*.

Seventhly, He receiv'd by private Warrants which he continually granted upon the *Exchequer* of *Ireland* considerable Sums, which were complained against by the *Duke of Ormond*, the *Lord Essex*, and other Lord Lieutenants of that Kingdom; These computed at the low Rate of 20,000 *per Annum*, amounted in 24 Years to 480,000 *l*.

Eighthly, He received likewise, from the *Irish Exchequer*, according to *Mr. Carte* in his *second Volume* of the *Life of the Duke of ORMOND*, Page 472, at the End of the Year 1677, and afterwards during his Reign, 36,000 *l. per Annum* towards the Expence of his Navy, and also 44,000 *l* at first, which was afterwards augmented to 61,000 *l* for the Garrison of *Tangier*; And reckoning this last Article upon a Medium at 54,000 *l per Annum*; The whole Assistance which he received from *Ireland* in these two Particulars amounted to 90,000 *l per Annum*, which in the *six* Years of his Reign from 1677, arose to 540,000 *l*.

Ninthly,

Ninthly, The Rents of the *Crown Lands*, including the Queen's Jointure, which was 30,000 *l* per *Annum*, according to the Report of Sir *Charles Harbord*, entered in the *Journals* of the *House of Commons* on the 4th of *June* 1663, were 100,000 *l* per *Annum*; And exclusive of this Jointure, according to the Estimation of Sir *William Petty*, and the *By-stander*, being reckon'd at 70,000 *l*. per *Annum*, they amounted in *ten Years*, viz. from *Christmas* 1660 to *Christmas* 1670, (which was about the time his Majesty was empowered to sell them) to 700,000 *l*.— And the Amount of the *Sale* of these Lands, according to Mr. *Coke* in his *Detection*, was 1,300,000 *l*; Together *Two Millions Sterling*.

Tenthly, The Amount of the *FINES* for the *Renewal* of *Leases* in the *Dutchy of Cornwall* in the Year 1661—100,000 *l*.

Eleventhly, Receiv'd from the $4\frac{1}{2}$ per *Cent*. from *Barbadoes* and the *Leeward Islands*, about 8000 *l*. per *Annum*, which in 24 Years amounted to 192,000 *l*.

The Amount of all these Articles, summed up in short, stands thus :

	<i>l</i> .
The Sale of <i>Dunkirk</i> , upwards of —	400,000
Queen <i>Catharine's</i> Portion, at least —	300,000
The Value of the King's Share of the Prizes in the 1st and 2d <i>Dutch</i> Wars — — —	} 1,000,000
Total	1,700,000

Brought forward	l. 1,700,000
The Sum receiv'd by King Charles from the <i>French</i> for his <i>breaking</i> the <i>Triple League</i> , and beginning the 2d <i>Dutch War</i> , after he had demanded, and received great Sums from his own People, expressly for its sup- port	650,000
<i>Ditto</i> for his making <i>Peace</i> with the <i>French</i> in 1678, after he had obtain- ed from his own People 1,200,000 l. to make an <i>actual War</i> against <i>France</i>	1,500,000
The Bankers Money seized by King Charles in the <i>Exchequer</i>	1,328,526
Receiv'd from the <i>States General</i> , at the End of the 2d <i>Dutch War</i>	220,000
Receiv'd from <i>Ireland</i> towards the Maintenance of the <i>Navy</i> , and the Charge of <i>Tangier</i> , about 90,000 l. <i>per Annum</i> for seven Years, com- mencing at the End of 1677	630,000
Receiv'd by private <i>Warrants</i> upon the <i>Exchequer</i> of <i>Ireland</i> at 20,000 l. <i>per</i> <i>Annum</i> , upon a Medium, in 24 Years	480,000
The <i>Rents</i> of the <i>Crown Lands</i> for ten Years at 70,000 l. <i>per Annum</i> , ex- clusive of the <i>Queen's Jointure</i>	700,000
The Value of the <i>Crown Lands</i> sold after 1670, estimated by Mr. <i>Marvell</i> at 1800,000 l.; but by Mr. <i>Coke</i> only at	1,300,000
<i>Fines</i> for the <i>Renewal</i> of <i>CORNISH</i> <i>Leases</i> in 1661	100,000
	8,608,526
	Brought

Brought forward	—	l. 8,608,526
Obtain'd from the <i>French King</i> by King	}	000,000
<i>Charles</i> several other considerable		
Sums for <i>extraordinary Jobs</i> , and for		
his <i>Pension</i> in other Years, besides		
what are mention'd above; These		
I submit to every Gentleman to charge		
according to <i>his own Judgment</i> .		

Total l. 8,608,526

To these might be added the Amount of all the *Forfeitures in England and Ireland*, which were very considerable in *his* Reign, and not *then* applied to the *Public Services*, as they have generally been *since the Revolution*;—I am not conscious upon this Occasion of aggravating the Sums, which I have assigned to any of these Articles; In particular I have assigned less for *Queen Catharine's Portion* by 100,000 l. than is mention'd by *Mr. Coke* and most other Writers;—Less by 50,000 l. for *Breaking the Triple League*, than is mentioned by *Mr. Acherley*, and *Burnet*;—And less by 500,000 l. than is charged by *Mr. Marvell* in his *Growth of Popery*, for the Value of the *Crown Lands*; And the same Moderation in most other Articles;—After which I must submit it to every Gentleman, who is versed in these Subjects, whether I have been at all fond of exaggerating.

If this Sum of 8,608,526 l. which is the Total of the last Account, be added to the Sum of 46,233,923 l. the Total of the foregoing Account, the whole will be 54,842,449 l. *Sterling*, which was raised upon the Nation by *Taxes*, and otherwise obtain'd by *Charles the II^d*, from *Christmas 1660 to Christmas 1684*, being after the Rate of about

about 2,300,000 *l. per Annum*; And the ordinary Disbursements in his Reign for *public Services*, amounted not to 600,000 *l. per Annum*.

It may here briefly be observed, in order to obviate all Objections to the Addition of this Sum of 8,608,526 *l.* to the rest, that though it was not apparently raised by *Taxes* upon this Kingdom, yet the whole Nation severely paid for it to *France*, during *his* Reign, in her Trade and Honour; And since then it has cost us immense Quantities of *Blood and Treasure*.

As to the Difference between this Account and Mr. Carte's, I submit it with just *Respect*, and without any *Defiance*, to the Public; At the same time I would beg leave to intimate again, that the Produces which I have delivered of the *Customs and Excise*, are extracted from authentic Vouchers in the Offices belonging to those Revenues; These alone make a Difference of many Millions Sterling between us; It is likewise indisputable that Mr. Carte has omitted the Assessment of 120,000 *l.* raised upon the Nation in 1668; And the Poll Tax and Additional Dutys upon *East India* and other *Linens and Silks*, granted at the End of the Year 1677, amounting to 1200,000 *l.*

After Mr. Carte's Account of all the Money raised upon the Nation by *Taxes* under *Charles the II*d, he proceeds thus, Page 162; "As that Writer
" (the Bystander) is fond of comparing that Prince's
" TIMES with those that have follow'd the Revo-
" lution, let us examine what have been the Ex-
" pences of the Nation since that Event;" And he afterwards gives us from the *Historical Account of Taxes* the Sum of one hundred and fifty Millions, as raised upon the Nation in King *William's* and Queen *Anne's* Reigns; Upon which he adds, "This Calculation
" which is founded upon the Taxes and their Produce, is
" still

" *still less than what I find by the Votes of the House of Commons in that Princess's time, TOUCHING the Sums given in each Session for the Service of the ensuing Year, the Total of which though a DRY Work for A MAN NOT US'D TO ACCOUNTS, I have endeavour'd to cast up, and they appear to me for their respective Years to be, as follows.*"

What we are therefore now to expect, Sir, is an ACCOUNT of the Sums which were voted by Parliament for the Services of several Years respectively, according to your accurate Method of Computation; This I shall beg leave to compare with an ACCOUNT of the Sums for the same Services, as they are justly extracted from the Votes of the House of Commons.

SUMS granted for the Public Services according to the Determination of the great Mr. CARTE.

YEARS

SUMS granted for the Public Services according to the Determinations of the PARLIAMENT.

3,582,788	1702	3,000,000
3,517,957	1703	3,694,136
4,007,329	1704	3,828,886
5,244,941	1705	4,670,486
5,151,460	1706	5,075,757
5,893,381	1707	5,540,167
6,026,845	1708	5,926,849
6,332,038	1709	6,457,830
4,969,432	1710	6,384,260
*14,573,244	1711	*6,609,295
5,378,319	1712	6,656,967
£c.	£c.	£c.

It is ridiculous to proceed any further in this Comparison; Though, Sir, it might have been civil in you, methinks, to the Public, to have given one Article right;

right; But instead of any *single deviation* into *Truth*, or any Suspicion, that you are capable of committing mistakes yourself; You very *modestly* close your Account, with a *supposition*, that there may indeed be *Mistakes* in it, though not of *your own*, but from the *erroneous* Publication of the *Votes* of the *House of Commons*;—I shall give your own Words; “It may VERY WELL be SUPPOS'D, That in making out of the JOURNALS, those Extracts, which are to be printed in the VOTES, the CLERKS may sometimes overlook an Article, when several Resolutions of a Committee for supply, all generally beginning with the like Words, are reported together; So that probably more Sums were voted than are here mention'd.”

This *Imputation* upon the *Votes* of the *House of Commons*, I presume, is to be one of the *Pillars* of your new and *authentic English History*; And indeed, as you have already *refuted* all the ancient *Records*, and *Registers*, and the public *Statutes*, It is no wonder (to use your own Phrase) that you at last make your Attack upon the *Votes* of the *House of Commons*; And charge the Gentlemen, who prepare them for the Press, as regarding, not the *Substance*, but only the *initial Words*, of the *Resolutions*;—This you say may VERY WELL be SUPPOSED; Upon which I shall only observe, that you are indeed a great *Merchant* in *SUPPOSITIONS*; And, as it evidently appears, always scorn to retail a *FACT*:

—Before I dismiss your foregoing Account, I shall take the Liberty to examine your most enormous Sum for the current Services of the Year 1711; Which I presume is a Specimen of the great *Moderation*, you have intimated above;—I shall therefore beg leave to exhibit the Particulars of the Services for that Year.

An Account of the several Sums voted and granted for all the particular Services of the Year 1711.

	<i>l.</i>
For 40,000 Seamen	2,080,000
Ordinary of the Navy	120,000
40,000 Land-Forces	919,092
Proportion of 3000 <i>Palatines</i>	34,251
4639 <i>Saxons</i>	43,251
<i>Bothmar's</i> Regiment	9,269
Troops of Augmentation	220,000
10,000 Additional Forces	177,511
Guards and Garrisons	546,108
Ordnance Land Service	130,000
Interest of Debentures	49,357
Transport Service	144,000
Subsidys to the Allies	478,956
Forces in <i>Spain</i> and <i>Portugal</i>	1,500,000
For Payment of 45,000 <i>l.</i> per Annum to 1714 for specifying Exchequer Bills	157,500
Total	6,609,295 <i>l.</i>

This Sum of 6,609,295 *l.* (omitting the odd *Shil-
lings* and *Pence*) was the whole, which was granted
for the *Services* of the Year 1711; In what man-
ner you have gain'd about eight Millions more,
I was not able to discover, until I recollected that
by an *Act* in this Session of Parliament, the *South-
Sea Company* was originally established; And se-
veral old *Debts*, and *Loans* for the *Services* of for-
mer Years, placed upon its Capital, to the Amount
of above nine Millions *Sterling*; These happening
to fall in your Way, you immediately seiz'd the
best Part of them without any *Remorse*; And

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have

have thus *swell'd out* the Amount of the *current Services*, for the Year 1711, to about *fourteen and an half Millions* Sterling, according to your usual *Judgment*.

After this, you go on with your Accounts of the *current Services* for other Years, which from 1712, where I ceased before, to the Year 1742, are no otherwise than *wrong* in every Article; — However, I must acknowledge, that this is no more than was *justly* to be expected from you; For you have now lost the Power of *surprizing* the World by your falling into any Errors or Absurditys; Of which at this Instant I throw aside an ENORMOUS Parcel, many more than are collected in this Work, and equally flagrant; But these which I have already deliver'd from your Piece, are so numerous and ample in every respect, that, I presume, no Gentleman can possibly require any further TESTIMONIALS.

As to your ridiculous Attempt to rectify the Blunder you have committed in the Expence of the *Prince of Orange's Expedition*, by inserting *Errata* and *Dele's* in the public Papers, when you found your Absurdity was every where laugh'd at, I shall only refer you for Instruction to the following Epigram.

*Emendare tuos, O! Pescennine, Libellos
NON MULTÆ possunt, UNA LITURA potest.*

And as to your Apology for it to the Public, in the *London Daily-Post* of the 4th of *December* last, after you saw an *Answer* to your work *advertized*, (though you have ventur'd to *antedate* it according to your usual *dissingenuity*;) I refer every Gentleman to it, who is at any time dispos'd to divert himself, with a *shuffling, sneaking, confus'd* Narrative.

And

And now, Sir, having treated *You* properly ; I shall beg leave to address myself to the *English Protestant* Reader ;—This Task, of correcting such a profligate Author, I have engaged in, not from any Petulancy of Temper, or from any Pleasure which I could take in lashing the Follies of any Person, if they had the least Pretence to be deem'd innocent ; But when I saw this Scribbler step forth with all the Airs of Importance and Insolence, and under the Mask of attacking the *Bystander* only, representing the antient Courle of the Government of this Island, and the overswelling Power of our Monarchs before the Revolution, as a glorious Scene of Joy and Freedom ; And declaring all our Acquisitions of Liberty at that great *Era*, as *vile*, and of *no value*, I could not but feel a just Indignation against such abandon'd Wickedness, which at *this Day* might well be expected to be pursued with the general Resentment and Detestation.

If we only look back to the Power of our Kings just before the Restoration, and reflect upon their Influence from the *Crown LANDS*, which, even so late as on the 4th of *March* 1660, were reported by Sir *Heneage Finch* to the House of Commons, to amount to no less than 297,598*l.* *per Annum* gross Produce, including the Forest of *Dean* ; If we consider likewise the Command which the Crown then held over most of the *NOBLE* Familys in the Kingdom, by virtue of the *Court of Wards*, and over most of the *TRADING* Subjects by Virtue of the Power of granting *Monopelys* ;—If we consider likewise the universal Dread of the *Star-chamber*, and the cruel Punishments inflicted by the King's Commissioners of that Court, such as *Imprisonments*, exorbitant *Fines*, *Whippings*, and barbarous *Mutilations*, without any *Trial* by *Jury*, or any Remedy left for the *Subject* ;—If we remem-

ber that *Judges* then held their Commissions only during *Pleasure*, and were entirely obedient to every direction of the Court;—And that the constant Revenue of the Crown was so large, that PARLIAMENTS were only called occasionally, in order to grant *extraordinary Aids*; And that these even so late, as under *Charles the 1st.* in the Instances of *Loans, Benevolences, and Ship-Money*, have been exacted without PARLIAMENT;—We shall look back with horror at our former State, and justly wonder at our present Freedom.

Upon the Restoration of *Charles the 2d.* it is true that the *Star-Chamber Court* was not revived, The Court of *Wards* also was purchased from the Crown by the *Hereditary Excise*, and the *Habeas Corpus Act* was likewise a new Acquisition soon after obtained by the People; But on the other hand the *Commissions* of the *Judges* were still only during *Pleasure*; The settled Revenue of the Crown was likewise greatly augmented, and in such a Course of Increase, that it was only owing to this King's immoderate Profusion, that, after this, he lay under any Necessity of calling a Parliament; And from hence, and his absolute Power over the Judges, no Relief could be obtained by the *Habeas Corpus Act*, where he chose to forbid it, as was experienced even by PEERS of the Realm; Besides this, the *Liberty* of the *Press* was more effectually, than ever before, suppress'd; And the Doctrines of *Passive Obedience* and *Non-Resistance* were then enacted by PARLIAMENT to be *Law*, and proclaimed by the CLERGY to be *Gospel*, throughout the Kingdom.

Under these Chains our ANCESTORS groan'd in this Reign; They saw a concealed PAPIST on the Throne; And a bigotted profess'd one ready to succeed him; They saw the Honour and Trade of the

the Nation sacrificed to *France*, and themselves forc'd into unnatural Wars with their *Protestant* Neighbours, in order to worry and root out each other; They saw the King arbitrarily assuming a Power of *dispensing* with the Laws, and suspending their Force against the *Papists*; They saw him rapaciously seize their Property in the *Exchequer*, contrary to all Faith and Honour; Then solemnly declaring to the Public that the Stop should continue no longer than a Twelvemonth, and yet infamously breaking his Faith again, and ruining thousands of Familys without Compassion or Remorse.

These were the Days of Grief which our FATHERS endured under *Charles* the II^d;—A Prince who was void of every Virtue, and Pretension to a good Quality, except an easy *outward* Behaviour; Who from *Poverty* and *Strolling* was suddenly exalted to the Throne of these Kingdoms, and placed at the Head of a great and virtuous Nation; When without any Sense of the Favour of God to himself, or Gratitude to a brave and affectionate People, he incontinently rush'd into all Scenes of Debauchery, and Vice; And ungenerously set himself to introduce and patronise them throughout these Kingdoms; A shameless Pensioner he was, and Tool of *France*, out of his deep Enmity to the *Protestant* Interest, and in Expectation of Support from the grand MONARCH in his own projected Schemes of Tyranny; To his abandoned Conduct we owe the enormous growth of the Power of *France*; Which since the Revolution has cost us Millions of Men and incredible Quantities of *Treasure* to cheque; besides the immense *public Debt* we have contracted in the Struggle; An utter Aversion he bore to *Parliaments*; Which in the last Years of his Reign he entirely refused, when he saw that he could no longer cajole them, and that it was ridiculous

to

to offer any more, his broken Word and Faith; He was a *determined* Enemy, though a *smooth dissembling* one, to the Libertys of his People, and to every Man of Virtue and good Example in his Kingdoms; In this view he could never forgive any *Public Officer*, who discharged his Post with Honour and Probity; In these Sentiments, he abused and banished his old and faithful Servant the great Lord *Clarendon*, because at the bottom he was a Friend to Virtue, and to the Freedom of *Britain*; And he cherished and protected the bloody and tyrannical Lord *Lauderdale*, because he set up that Pattern of arbitrary Government beyond the *Tweed*, which he wanted himself to establish in *England*.

This is the Picture of *Charles* the II^d, the most pious and gracious Prince of the *TORYS*; Whose *Memory*, as Mr. *Carte* says, having been *falsly* traduced of late, I have therefore here justly exhibited his Character; And if we find him ever to have been *desired*, or *regretted*, by any honest and rational Man in the Kingdom, we are always to remember, that it was owing to the greater Dread of his *Successor*, and not to any *positive* Virtues of *his own*;—In his Reign was the *gloomy Hour*, when every *Englishman* of Spirit and Worth, who dar'd to avow his Regard for Liberty, was sure to be marked out for the Slaughter; And was hunted down by Hireling *Witnesses*, and pack'd *Judges* and *Jurys*; When *Russel*, *Sidney*, *Armstrong*, and clouds of others, were butcher'd; Whose Blood still crys to Heaven, and will for ever cry, against the *Stuart* Family; This was the Time, when *Assassins* and *Witnesses* were cherished at *Whitehall*, and *bugg'd* in the *Royal Closet*; When *Persecutions*, and *Hatching of Plots*, and directing of *Murders*, was the chief Business of the *Court*; And when every *Protestant* Gentleman in the Kingdom was uncertain, how soon he might be

[III]

be charged before JEFFRIES with *Treason*, and order'd to be *quarter'd* by his Insolence and Cruelty.

This is the *aimable* PRINCE, and these the *glorious* SCENES of *Happiness* so highly extoll'd by this Writer; And such were the HALCYON Days which *Englishmen* are now call'd upon to contemplate with *Rapture*.

And here let us survey the Condition of our Ancestors, as it gradually *opened* at the late Restoration; For this is to be our Encouragement to *renew* the like Scenes, and the *first Felicitys* we shall feel at their Introduction; This Writer informs us, that King Charles enter'd upon a Nation of *Rebels*, and that the *Lives* and *Estates* of the whole People were forfeited; Observe, O ye Britons! the *Spirit* of this Writer; And remember, that this was the *first* Compliment, which that Prince, and his *vagabond* Crew at their Return, most *thankfully* paid to your generous Ancestors; And from hence learn the *Gratulations*, you would meet with *yourselves*; Remember how this *Company* of *Strollers*, just rescued from the *imminent* Danger of starving, insulted and spurned your brave Forefathers; Declaring themselves absolute Masters of the Kingdom; And that the whole Nation was indebted to their *unparallel'd* Mercy, for Pardon and Remission of their Lives and Fortunes.

This was the Conduct and Gratitude of Charles the II^d, at the late Restoration, and such has been the constant Temper and Principle of the *Stuart* Family; Our Ancestors most miserably disappointed, instead of receiving the Thanks and Love of this Prince for *recalling* him, perceived that they were only to be abused and menaced for his former *Expulsion*; They saw Plenty of *Lawyers* and *Clergy* who declared the whole Nation *Rebels* and *Traytors*; And this Business was push'd with such vehemence forwards,

wards, That at last, as this Author reminds us, the *House of Commons* in a Body were glad to attend upon their *new King*, And in the name of themselves, and of all the *Commons of England*, to lay hold on his *gracious Declaration from Breda*, of PARDON and OBLIVION.

This was the first *most joyous SCENE* of the late *Restoration*; And we are further inform'd by this Writer, to our great Satisfaction, that King *Charles* upon this humble Application from the Commons, most graciously pardoned the *whole People*,—Instead of ordering them, according to the *strict Rules of Justice*, to *quarter* each other.

The *second* most wonderful *Scene* of *public Felicity*, according to this Writer, was his *Majesty's* very generous Remission of the Sums, which had been raised upon the Nation during his Absence;—But this, as Mr. *Carte* says, Page the 66th, “*might be censured with some colour of Reason as a* “*PROFUSE LIBERALITY*,” And therefore we are all to take notice of the Hint, and not *unreasonably* to expect the same Favour hereafter.

This Circumstance indeed is the rather to be observed, because this Writer has not only particularly delivered the Sum of *twelve Millions Sterling*, as what was remitted by King *Charles* to the Nation; But has likewise stated, as I apprehend, the Amount of the Demand of ANOTHER PERSON upon these Kingdoms; Which, as he informs us, Page the 164th, from the *Revolution* to the Death of Queen *Anne* is, “*one hundred and fifty Millions Sterling*,” And since that time to the End of the Year 1742, as he declares in Page 167, to “*One hundred and* “*thirteen Millions, six hundred thousand, thirty nine* “*Pounds, three Shillings, and Two-pence Half-* “*penny*,” Not abating us *one Farthing*, according to the best of his Knowledge, since the *Protestant Succession* took place in these Kingdoms;—

By

By which we are to understand that his MASTER is richer than any Potentate in *Europe*, Although he is a little *slow* in collecting his Money; And after Payment of these moderate Sums, and other proper Submissions on our Part, I presume He likewise may be graciously pleased to grant us his Pardon, making however some wholsom *Exceptions* in the second ACT of general INDEMNITY and OBLIVION.

This is a Picture, which as an *Englishman* and Lover of Liberty, I humbly present to the View of the Public, in Opposition to the Scenes and Colourings of Mr. *Carte*; A Person, who, in the midst of the late Changes at the Helm, very *generously* stepped forth, and recommended it to us to meditate upon the *happy* Times under *Charles* the II^d, and his *merciful* Successor; And most cordially informed us of the Felicitys we should find in the same *desirable* Situation.

If I have therefore repell'd this barefac'd Attempt, and expos'd the impudent Falstys of its Author with Severity and Contempt, I will hope for the Thanks and Applause of every *Englishman*; For is there any amongst *such*, who is cold in the Cause of Freedom, or a Friend to an avowed Advocate for our ancient Servitude? What then shall forbid me to *drag forth* this common Enemy, and *hold* him up to the View of the Public; Who has dared in *this* DAY to sneer our immortal Deliverer *William* the III^d, And treated us, as void of all Gratitude, and Sense of our Liberty and Happiness under the present illustrious *Protestant* Family; Who has reproached the Revolution, and all the subsequent Times, for those heavy Expences, and that National Debt, which we have incurred in defending our Libertys from the Power of *France*, and opposing the mischievous Effects of King *Charles's* Conduct? One who is grown old in the Cause of Slavery, and
 Q harden'd

harden'd in a deep Aversion to the Happiness of Mankind; And would now deliver, without any Remorse, this brave and liberal People to be harass'd again with *Persecutions, Plots, and Murders, Popery, and Slavery*,—HARPYES, which before the *Revolution*, continually surrounded the Thrones of the *Stuarts*.

If our great *Whig Ancestors*, who bravely fell upon the public Scaffold, or chanc'd to escape the Fury of the STUARTS, but never saw the glorious Revolution; If RALEIGH, SIDNEY, and RUSSEL, could for one Day return to *Britain*, they would tell the Crueltys which *they* felt, and all the *antient* Bondage of their Country; And if the Scenes of *Britain's* Fate, which since have risen, could pass before them, How would they bless the Day, when NASSAU landed, and the *new* Hours of opening Freedom?—They would see with Joy the insulting Power of *France* laid prostrate, and *Europe's* Liberties preserv'd;—And above all would view with Rapture the BRUNSWICK Princes fill the Throne; And fondly dwell upon that GOLDEN SERIES, when WALPOLE steer'd the Helm, and BRITAIN flourish'd under his able and benevolent Management.

January 26,

1742-3.

F I N I S.